

The Architecture and Planning of Classical Moscow: A Cultural History



Albert J. Schmidt



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of Classical Moscow:
A Cultural History**

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Dr. Schmidt describes the building and planning schemes in Moscow from approximately the accession of Catherine the Great in the early 1760s to the mid-reign of Nicholas I, about 1840. A cultural rather than architectural history, it is addressed to those who find enchantment in discovering the past in the present, specifically, in architectural artifacts that mirror a past epoch. The author endeavors to persuade the reader that despite the enormous destruction of historic Moscow caused by the reordering of Gorkii (the old Tverskaia) Street and the Kalinin Prospect (the Arbat) under Stalin and Khrushchev, there still exists a significant remnant of the classical city which rose from the ashes of the great fire in 1812.

The architects of the classical city—Catherine's builders, Vasilii Bazhenov and Matvei Kazakov, and those who rebuilt Moscow after 1812, Osip Bove, Domenico Giliardi, and Afanasii Grigor'ev—are featured together with their individual architectural creations as well as their broader city-planning accomplishments. In many respects an atlas of the boulevards and thoroughfares of central Moscow, this book both recreates the Moscow of another era and adds to the understanding of the contours and character of the modern Soviet metropolis.

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A Cultural History

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Illustrations at the beginning of chapters from architectural drawings of the period.

For Kathy, Chris, and Betsy

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Preface

This book is addressed to those who find enchantment in discovering the past in the present, specifically, in architectural artifacts that mirror a past epoch. While it is improbable that a single work of architecture would do this, a well-preserved "historic district" could and does. I have tried to persuade the reader that despite enormous destruction of historic Moscow over the last half century there is still a significant remnant from the city of the early nineteenth century. To do so, I have proceeded as a cultural historian, not an architectural one, with a focus on the architectural artifacts and landscape rather than stylistic criticism. The organization of this book is chronological and to an extent approximates an atlas of central Moscow's principal streets, plazas, edifices, ensembles, and even unrealized plans.

This study of classical Moscow has been anything but a solo enterprise. Many scholars, colleagues, and friends have contributed to the final draft. Professor Robert Byrnes of Indiana University facilitated my first visit to the USSR more than two decades ago. In the Soviet Union the late Professors Vladimir I.

Piliavskii, M. A. Il'in, Nicholai Brunov, and in this country, Arthur Voyce were my early mentors. Readers of the several drafts—Professors Thomas Juliusburger, Richard Garner, S. Frederick Starr, and, especially, Professor Charles Cannon and Elizabeth and Kathryn Schmidt—have all given to me invaluable advice. A number of typists have labored on this project over the years: Nina Kendall, Olga Milin, Marlene Baumann, and Irene Palazzo were especially crucial to its completion. I also gratefully acknowledge assistance in translation from Alexander Almasov, Diane Garner, Nina Kendall, Olga Milin and Olga Svetlik.

I am indebted also to the staffs of the Lenin Library in Moscow, the Library of Congress, the Oost-Europa Institut, University of Amsterdam, the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale, the New York Public Library, the libraries at the University of Illinois, the University of Iowa, Indiana University; the Architectural Institute Library on Zhdanov Street in Moscow, the Library of the Town Planning Institute on Dmitrovskoe Highway in Moscow and the Architectural Archive at Donskoi Monastery. I wish especially to thank Victor Baldin,

Director of the Shchusev Museum of Architecture in Moscow for facilitating my obtaining copies of old prints and photographs from the Donskoi Archive, which is under his supervision, and for permission to publish them. Grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the University of Bridgeport, and sabbatical leaves from Coe College and the

University of Bridgeport also facilitated progress on the project in its various stages.

Although these individuals and institutions have contributed significantly to the work, I take responsibility for all errors and shortcomings.

August 25, 1986
Greenfield Hill,
Fairfield, Connecticut

Introduction



That the eighteenth century was one of change for Russia, especially as it pertains to Peter and Catherine the Great, is hardly a novel theme. Imperial Russia did acquire at least a veneer of Western culture. This study takes account of an aspect of, almost literally, this facade—the architecture and layout of cities in accordance with the principles of classicism. The baroque and rococo of the early and mideighteenth century are discussed only by way of introduction; the focus is on Russia's neoclassic era, from approximately the 1760s until about 1840.

Classicism with its aura of order became an ideal mode for eighteenth-century architects and planners when they tidied up the clutter of medieval cities: city walls became concentric boulevards; radial highways, widened, were given grand perspectives; river banks were straightened with stone embankments. Great squares were embellished with monumental sculptures and masonry architecture, although more often than not the masonry consisted of luxuriant *stucco* plastered over wattle, daub, and log.

The intent of eighteenth-century architects was to improve cities both in function and beauty. Although majestic thoroughfares and plazas did this quite nicely, buildings, in particular, fulfilled this classical mystique. The architecture of classicism has generally been defined in terms of its Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, the arch and the dome. "The

Greek temple," wrote one authority, "is the most perfect example ever achieved of architecture finding its fulfillment in bodily beauty."¹ The Roman architect Vitruvius discerned this beauty "when its [the edifice's] members are in due proportion according to correct principles of symmetry."²

Classicism in the Europe of two or three centuries ago had a very special meaning. It served as a vehicle for transforming old cities into new ones: London after the Great Fire of 1666, and later Edinburgh, Munich, Vienna, and Paris. Princes of well-ordered police states, appreciating the classical emphasis on order and monumentality, used it in their new urban creations. The Whigs in England found the Palladian style an apt expression of their aesthetic tastes and symbol of their economic and political dominance. The fact is that grandees, whether building in town or country, appropriated classicism and thus made it the mark of aristocratic taste and power.

What had all this to do with eighteenth-century Russia? Russia, like Europe and England, employed the architecture of classicism for her new cities. Peter's St. Petersburg, built in the northern swampland, and old Tver, demolished by fire in the mideighteenth century, were prototypes for other Russian cities.

¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Middlesex, 1963), 19.

² Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*. Transl. by M. H. Morgan (New York, 1960), 16–17.

Catherine II by the 1770s and 1780s had become obsessed with founding new cities. Doubtless, she hoped that they rather than the monastery would symbolize her new Russia, even though these cities were usually administrative rather than commercial centers. In Catherinean Russia the nobility also found classicism to their taste. Emancipated from servitude in the 1760s, whether they congregated in Moscow or remained in the country, they built in the classical manner. Russian classicism reflected European classicism. Throughout the eighteenth century European architects worked extensively in Russia, and Russians studied in Europe. By 1800 Russian architects had their own brand of Palladian, Romantic, French (Ledoux), and Empire styles.

This book attempts to explain Russia's, specifically Moscow's, appropriation and adaptation of European classicism. Its initial phase in Moscow followed from the genius of the architects Kazakov and Bazhenov late in the eighteenth century; its second phase coincided with the era of reconstruction after the Great Fire in 1812. That this historic center of xenophobia should adopt cosmopolitan classicism as its badge gives plausibility to the thesis that classicism became a vehicle for incipient nationalism. If so, then its location in Moscow is hardly surprising.

The present study is primarily descriptive, a cultural history: how did Moscow move along its way toward classicism after 1750, what prompted this development, who was responsible? This narrative, essentially an atlas, is structured to capture the character of Moscow's streets, plazas, and districts. The

great fire of 1812 is presented as a watershed in classical Moscow's history. The many plans before 1812, described in some detail, would simply have remained plans had not the fire made them important antecedents to the plan adopted for restoring Moscow in 1817.

The Soviets have been ambivalent about classicism. Their scholars over the last several decades have dealt generously with Russian classical architecture, lauding both its beauty and scale. They have also found ideological satisfaction in the uniquely Russian, democratic, and heroic dimensions of classical edifices and ensembles. On the other hand, the authorities have been less careful about their preservation. Over the last half century, many classical buildings have disappeared. In Moscow the reconstruction projects of the 1930s and 1960s took a great toll of classical as well as preclassical Moscow: the once majestic and aristocratic Tverskaia has been transformed into a tasteless Gorkii Street; the focal point of the old Arbat is now the un-Russian, though fashionable, Kalinin Prospekt. What remains of its classical face is encompassed in a newly constructed pedestrian mall. Present Soviet emphasis on historical preservation, precipitated, in part, by resurgent Great Russian nationalism and widespread distress over the huge loss of monuments since 1917, has been evidenced by legislation in 1976 and 1982 and an inclusion in the 1977 Constitution. These factors all bode a better future for those amber-, blue-, green-, and cherry-washed buildings that punctuate the city center.

How Moscow's classical face originated some two centuries ago this book purports to tell.

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CHAPTER I

The Architectural World of the Late Eighteenth Century



Classicism in modern architecture came to fruition in the second half of the eighteenth century. In contrast to the rococo in France and Palladianism in England, it laid claim to a certain authenticity, first Roman and then Greek prevailing in successive revivals. If Renaissance classicism had accentuated beauty, neoclassicism ca. 1800 strove to recapture what was perceived as the essence of the art of antiquity—sublimity, elevation, dignity, honor, simplicity, and grandeur. Aside from its reliance on Roman and Greek models, this new classicism appeared preoccupied with Egyptian motifs, especially those depicting the majesty of death. Recoiling from frivolity, ostentation, and the baroque conception of the building as a living organism, it gave to architecture an intellectual dimension, its romantic aspects notwithstanding. Reduced to basic geometric forms and smooth surfaces, new structures denied all baroque articulation and decoration and accented instead structural expression through its posts and lintels. Architects took pride in the functionality and diversity of their edifices, whether banks, legislative assemblies, churches, fire stations, private homes, or exquisite garden pavilions.

Neoclassicism, like the baroque, often became synonymous with town planning on a grand scale.

Eighteenth-century classicism, influenced by the English garden and temple and the excavations at Herculaneum (1738) and Pompeii (1748), won its way variously. Robert Adam applied Roman forms in his interiors. Thomas Jefferson used Palladian concepts in designing Monticello, but for Virginia's new capitol he recommended the exquisite Maison Carrée in Nîmes as a model. The archeological discoveries which magnified and authenticated the vision of classicism also spurred its publicists. Winckelmann proclaimed the virtues of Greece and Greek art, and Piranesi's etchings of romanticized Roman ruins inspired young architects to travel in Italy in order to recreate its antiquities.

In France the quest for classical sublimity resulted in both a rejection of the aristocratic rococo and the creation of a new classic. The principal proponents of the *style Louis XVI*, as classicism was called in France, were Boullée and Ledoux. Boullée wrote: "Tired of the emptiness and sterility of irregular forms, I have passed to the study of the regular. . . .

These captivate by simplicity, regularity, and reiteration."¹ His contemporary, Ledoux, avoiding both the fanciful and the imitative, worked in a world of spheres, cubes, and pyramids—none of which had any clear antecedent in antiquity. His new classic proved admirably utilitarian, serving the current need for such monumental structures as banks, hospitals, barracks, stock exchanges, and opera houses, to say nothing of factories. Neither Boullée nor Ledoux exercised any considerable influence in Western Europe during the era of the French Revolution; however, their ideas were carried to Russia by the émigré Thomas de Thomon, who designed and built the Petersburg bourse.

The clarity of the *style Louis XVI* surrendered to increased surface ornament during the Bonapartist era. Napoleon's most ambitious urban scheme linked the Place de la Concorde, the colonnaded porch of the Chamber of Deputies, the new and magnificent Madeleine Church, and his triumphal arches in an ingenious design, which extolled the martial glory of the First Empire. Imperial, not republican, Rome triumphed in Napoleon's Paris.

But Paris notwithstanding, Greek models dominated classicism for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Germany, belatedly taking its cue from Winckelmann, led the way. Karl Langhans and Friedrich Gilly were among the first; but the greatest German masters were Gilly's student Schinkel in Berlin and Klenze in Munich. In England the break between the early Roman classic and that of the post-revolutionary period, the Greek, was best expressed in the highly original works of Soane, Nash, and Smirke. In the United States in 1799, Benjamin Latrobe designed the Bank of Pennsylvania as a Greek temple, applied the Ionic order, and gave it a dome. When Nicholas Biddle determined after his trip to Greece that "a chaste imitation of Grecian architecture" with "a portico on each front"

should be the mode for his new Bank of the United States, he obtained designs from Latrobe and his pupil William Strickland, who had both used the Parthenon as a model. Classicism, having achieved its greatest authenticity during this Greek phase, became increasingly eclectic by the 1830s, when it proved unequal to the competition from a Gothic revival.

In urban design classicism was epitomized most simply by the straight line. Pronounced "the very expression of human reason and will," it received theoretical affirmation by the sixteenth century when acceptance came both in the dominance of the axis and the increased prevalence of gridiron patterns in urban design. The line as an axis both organized the environment and dominated the plaza, which was only an extension of the longitudinal axis. Radial street buildings, uniform in both their facade elements and unbroken horizontal roof-line, accentuated this linear precision.

The public square was an essential element both as organized space and for the conclusion of a monumental perspective. Planners also reserved space for greenery which related the monument to the spatial treatment of the plaza. The classical planner carefully molded this void rather than allow an indiscriminate building mass to arise. Whether located in an oval, circular, rectangular, or square plaza, the monument was flanked symmetrically by important public buildings, uniform in character. Radial streets converging on the monument, pierced the open space in the middle rather than at the corners.

The classical city joined symmetry to perspective: the uniform and harmonious buildings on the radial streets and plazas accomplished this. This program, so to speak, was "the obligation imposed on all the houses of a certain part of the town—street, square, district—to . . . conform to a general design." One regarded as near perfection was that on the west side of the Rue de Rivoli in Napoleon's Paris.

Eighteenth-century planners employed these tested elements of town design in creating new towns as well as in renovating

¹ Quoted from Emil Kaufman, *Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, and Legoux*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., vol. 42, pt. 3 (Philadelphia, 1952): 471.

existing ones. Besides articulating linear thoroughfares and symmetrical plazas, they constructed bridges and stone embankments along straightened rivers, dug and paved canals, and replaced crooked alleys with gridiron blocks. Their landscaping followed the same formulae: major and minor axes, which created beds of parterres, terminated at fountains or other monuments, and precisely clipped hedges or trees were substituted for facade uniformity.

This regulated town design in baroque and classical Europe carried with it a political message. The city of royalty symbolized order, power, secularism and political absolutism. That the great palace should occupy a central plaza allowed for the kind of pageantry which exalted power. Bureaucratic and military edifices, cloaked in columns and pediments, also claimed imposing sites in the new city; ecclesiastical buildings, in turn, lost theirs. This linear development of the city was more than symbolic: besides facilitating traffic flow, wide boulevards and avenues denied protection to street revolutionaries and otherwise impeded social intercourse—except, of course, prom-enading by the aristocracy. The baroque-classical city ceased being the historic haven of the people.²

Classicism and Russia

Classicism, with its orders, unique town design, and accent on masonry construction, was antithetical to old Russian building modes. Thus, when the baroque style was utilized by Peter the Great in his new capital St. Petersburg, it symbolized his intended Western orientation. Determined to promote a more sophisticated absolutism than that he had inherited, Peter chose for his seat of power a location far removed from that relic of Russia's past, Moscow. This northern capital, built in a harsh wasteland at a terrible cost in human

life and suffering, emerged as one of Europe's most splendid cities. The emperor's employment of the French architect Leblond and the Italian Trezzini set a precedent for his successors, who sponsored the Rastrellis, Vallin de la Mothe, Giacomo Quarenghi, Charles Cameron, William Hastie, Thomas de Thomon, Avgust Mon[t]ferran[d], and others—all of whom embellished the city over the course of a century and more.³

Although initially baroque, by the early nineteenth century Petersburg was renowned for its rococo and classical structures. Perhaps the greatest creations were those of the Empress Elizabeth's favorite architect, Bartolomeo Rastrelli, who about midcentury built the sprawling Winter Palace, the Smolnyi Sobor, and the imposing Stroganov Palace on the Nevskii Prospekt. Catherine commissioned Quarenghi, who came from his native Como to design the Smolnyi Institute; even earlier she had sanctioned Vallin de la Mothe's building the Academy of Fine Arts, the initial stimulus to classicism in St. Petersburg. Alexander I, during whose reign Empire classicism was ascendant, inspired a broad building program which included: Kazan Cathedral, a modest classical rendition of St. Peter's in Rome, by Andrei Voronikhin; the imposing Admiralty of Adrian Zakharov; and Thomon's style Ledoux Bourse and Voronikhin's Academy of Mines (Gornyi Institute), both on Vasil'evskii Island. Alexander's preference for the French style was not prejudiced by his recent conflict with Napoleon; he even appointed a former French general and engineer, Augustin Béthencourt, to head the Committee for Construction and Hydraulic Works which passed on the designs of all public and private building in the capital.

As the taste for Greek classicism ebbed,

² See Pierre Lavedan, *French Architecture* (Baltimore, 1967), 236–39 for a full discussion of classical urban design.

³ The best works in English on this subject are I. A. Egorov, *The Architectural Planning of St. Petersburg*. Transl. and ed. by Eric Dluhosch (Athens, Ohio, 1969) and George H. Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia* (Baltimore, 1983). See also R. Lucas, "Innovation in Russian Architecture in Early Modern History," Study Group on Eighteenth Century Russia Newsletter 4 (1976):17–24 and L.A.J. Hughes, "The West Comes to Russian Architecture," *History Today* 36 (1986):28–39.

about 1815, the Russian architect Karl Ivanovich Rossi led Petersburg toward Roman classicism. His General Staff building and semicircle helped enclose Winter Palace Square, and his Senate and Synod partially encased what is now Decembrist Square. These edifices and his ambitious planning schemes in St. Petersburg marked him as the most influential Russian architect-planner of late classicism.

In a monumental style akin to Rossi's, August Avgustovich Montferrand built St. Isaac's Cathedral, finally completed in 1857; moreover, his Alexander Column in Winter Palace Square endowed Petersburg with a colossus on the order of Paris's Colonne de Juillet and the Washington Monument. Classicism was not, however, to be confined to this radiant city on the Neva. Both Catherine II and Alexander I perceived themselves as builders, and they looked farther afield to fulfill their destiny.

Although Catherine's Enlightenment is often dismissed as little more than her superficial communication with an international coterie of thinkers, publicists, and reformers such as Voltaire and Diderot, she appeared to have a genuine interest in the arts. In her correspondence with Falconet she insisted that he personally should cast the bronze statue of Peter the Great in St. Petersburg ("Further, who has convinced you that a professional foundryman would be better than yourself?").⁴ In the same way, she spent hours with her architects, reviewing plans. Like her predecessors, she considered the choice of architectural styles a royal prerogative. She dispensed with the rococo of Rastrelli and Prince Ukhtomskii, was for a time enthralled with Bazhenov in Moscow and Cameron in Tsarskoe Selo, but finally settled for the classic of Matvei Kazakov in Moscow and Quarenghi and Ivan Starov in Petersburg. Catherine was

to change her mind about both styles as her brief flirtation with Gothic indicated (see, for example, the work of Vasilii Bazhenov at Tsaritsyna and Kazakov's Petrovskii Palace in Moscow). But these interludes did not diminish her excitement for classicism.

While the Empress displayed indecision in some of her projects, she alone was responsible for much of the construction that did occur during her reign. These included individual buildings, ensembles, and larger city-planning enterprises. James Billington has observed that "more than any other single person prior to the Leninist revolution, Catherine cut official culture loose from its religious roots and changed both its physical setting and its philosophical preoccupations." In doing so, she "substituted the city for the monastery as the main center of Russian culture."⁵

Catherine's involvement in city-building has often been overlooked.⁶ As early as the second year of her reign, she had to cope with the burning of Tver (Kalinin). Her decision to reconstruct it along classical lines led her to similar undertakings in Tula, Kolomna, Kostroma, Kaluga, Iaroslavl, Vladimir and elsewhere. Encouraged by Voltaire, she dreamed of civilizing New Russia, that is, the Ukraine, won by her lover Potemkin.⁷ The virgin and fertile steppes begged for all kinds of utopian schemes. Voltaire had once even made his visit to Russia contingent upon the empress's making Kiev the capital of her vast empire; another time she herself toyed with the idea of resurrecting a Byzantium under Russian auspices. In new Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk) on the Dnieper, she envisioned a mag-

⁵ James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York, 1967), 227. Hereafter cited as *Icon*.

⁶ One of Catherine's decrees read: "From the very first establishment of settlements, all peoples recognized the advantages of building towns. . . . From the dawn of history, beginning with antiquity, we meet everywhere the memory of the founders of cities equally with the memory of lawmakers." Quoted from Hans Blumenfeld, "Russian City Planning of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 4 (1944):26.

⁷ Cf. Wm. H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier 1500-1800* (Chicago, 1964) and Billington, *Icon*.

⁴ Catherine to Falconet, 18 September 1769 in Louis Reau, ed., *Correspondance de Falconet Avec Catherine II, 1767-1778* (Paris, 1921), 100-101, transl. by L. Jay Oliva, *Catherine The Great*, ed. L. Jay Oliva (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1971), 51.

nificent center of culture and commerce.⁸ On the northern shore of the Black Sea, where ancient Greek cities once stood, she planted the new classical ones of Azov, Taganrog, Nikolaev, Odessa, and Sevastopol.

Catherine's aspiration to create new cities was more than a whim or a consequence of expansion into new areas. Truly significant changes, which related to her urban schemes, were occurring in Russia's society. First, Peter III in 1762 lifted a number of long-existing controls on commerce and restricted the rights of serf ownership to the nobility; in the same year, Catherine, having succeeded Peter, began liberalizing manufactures. These separate physiocrat-inspired gestures nearly destroyed whatever existed of a Russian urban bourgeoisie, which faltered before noble and even peasant entrepreneurs in the villages. Thus, when speaking of Catherine as a builder of cities, we are forced to seek an explanation for urban development distinct from the economic.⁹

A partial explanation may be found in Peter III's having freed the nobility from state service. Once emancipated, many left St. Petersburg and the watchful eye of the court to reside in the country or perhaps in Moscow. The famed Legislative Commission of 1767-1768 supported the wishes of the nobility for more autonomy in local administration. The empress, in turn, confronted by the failure of local government during the Pugachev uprising (1773-1774) and moved by liberal *philosophie* political ideas, eventually accepted the Commission's counsel. She issued during the course of a decade three separate decrees: the Law on the Administration of the Provinces of the Russian Empire in 1775 and the Charter of the Nobility and Charter of the Cities in

1785.¹⁰ The first two decentralized government and placed power in the hands of the local nobility to whom the governors belonged. The Charter for the Cities, hardly the enlightened act it is made to seem, really complemented the first two, leaving the nobility firmly in control and establishing Catherine's "cities" as essentially administrative centers.

Thus provincial and urban administrative reform, not commerce, influenced building and town planning throughout the empire. Catherine's regulations directed provincial governors "to establish towns either in existing villages or in new places."¹¹ The act divided the realm into fifty provinces, an increase of twenty, each consisting of a maximum of twelve and a minimum of eight districts. Besides "provincial" cities, four hundred and ninety-three were designed as "district" cities, and eighty-six were placed under the supervision of the State. Such instant urbanization stimulated Russia's architects as nothing else could.¹²

¹⁰ Geo. Vernadsky, et al., eds., *A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917*, 3 vols. (New Haven, 1972), 2:410-11; 413-18 and Paul Dukes, ed., *Russia under Catherine the Great: Select Documents on Government and Society 1* (Newtonville, Mass., 1978):136-70. Cf. also Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven, 1981), 277-307. J. Michael Hittle has written on the service city in eighteenth-century Russia and how it can be understood "only as an integral part of a polity dominated by a powerful, centralized state." ("The Service City in the Eighteenth Century" in Michael F. Hamm, ed., *The City in Russian History*, Lexington, Ky., 1976), 53. See also J. M. Hittle, *The Service City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). Catherine's urban reform was motivated by increased tax revenues and improved law and order.

¹¹ Blumenfeld, "Russian City Planning," 27; cf. also Paul Dukes, *Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility* (Cambridge, 1967); Thomas M. Poulsen, "The Provinces of Russia: Changing Patterns in the Regional Allocation of Authority 1708-1962" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1962); and Robert E. Jones, *The Emancipation of the Russian Nobility* (Princeton, 1973) and "Urban Planning and the Development of Provincial Towns in Russia, 1762-1796," in *The Eighteenth Century in Russia*, ed. J. G. Garrard (Oxford, 1973), 321-344.

¹² It should be remembered that settlements with hardly more than a hundred dwellings were often labeled cities. The following works are important for a study of Russian urbanization and economic development during the eighteenth century: Blackwell, *Industrialization*; Hamm, ed., *The City in Russian History*; J. Michael Hittle, "The City in Muscovite and Early Imperial Russia" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1969); Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1961); E. A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development 8, Urban Development in Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Romania, and the USSR* (New York,

⁸ Cf. Albert J. Schmidt, "William Hastie, Scottish Planner of Russian Cities," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* vol. 114, no. 3 (Philadelphia, 1970):226-43.

⁹ See Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Old Regime* (New York, 1974), 211-18 and William L. Blackwell, *The Beginnings of Russian Industrialization 1800-1860* (Princeton, 1968), 96-101, hereafter cited as *Industrialization*.

Catherine II imposed on these towns her own preference in style and design, resorting to her favorite pastime of appointing commissions. In 1768, for example, she charged the Commission for the Building of the Capital Cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow (*Komissia dlia stroeniia stolichnykh gorodov Sankt-Peterburga i Moskvy*), established in 1762, to assume responsibility for town building throughout Russia; by the end of the century it had either approved or reviewed more than four hundred city plans. New town design usually conformed to one, or a combination, of four types: radial-concentric, fan-shaped, rectangular, and diagonal. Because planners were ever cognizant of fire and hygienic problems, they conceived cities consisting essentially of a center with suburbs: with regulated streets and alleys, administrative and commercial plazas, blocks, and plots.¹³ They designated certain squares for wooden construction, others for masonry. "Obraztsovye," or standardized, facade designs were deemed essential not only to accomplish a classical program but also to reduce construction costs.¹⁴

These many new cities, or administrative centers, in accordance with the reforms, were systematically placed throughout Russia. In some cases populous centers were appropriately designated cities; in other instances villages with perhaps a hundred dwellings acquired the same distinction. Richard Pipes has noted that "the administrative relabeling of the population clearly had not the slightest effect on the quality of life in the cities or on the mentality of its inhabitants, which (except for Moscow and St. Petersburg) remained indistinguishable from the rural. The tripling of urban inhabitants, allegedly accomplished between 1769 and 1796, was a figment of the bureaucratic imagination."¹⁵ Thus, even an insignificant administrative center was often the object of meticulous planning. Where the plan became a reality, the city generally was structured around administrative buildings, a governor's mansion, and whatever else was appropriate to autocratic authority and aristocratic comfort. The mode for such building and planning was invariably classical.

In Russia, as elsewhere in Europe, squares and radial thoroughfares leading into them were at the heart of the new design. Grand monuments like a kremlin, cathedral (*sobor*), or palace naturally terminated a radial at the plaza's center.¹⁶ Both the thoroughfares and squares conveyed a new spatial dimension. Whereas old Muscovy's wooden cities, silhouetted by tent spires and bulbous domes, rose vertically, the new classical towns, conforming to a required 2:1 or even 4:1 ratio between the width of street and height of buildings facing on the street, projected horizontally.¹⁷ Masonry residences of the affluent usually occu-

1972):323–67; Arcadius Kahan, "Continuity in Economic Activity and Policy during the Post-Petrine Period in Russia," *The Journal of Economic History* 25 (1965):61–85. John T. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia* (Baltimore, 1980) and "Catherine II, Bubonic Plague, and the Problem of Industry in Moscow," *American Historical Review* 79 (1974):637–71, hereafter cited as "Catherine II"; in Hamm's volume on the Russian city, see Gilbert Rozman, "Comparative Approaches to Urbanization: Russia, 1750–1800"; Gilbert Rozman, *Urban Networks in Russia 1750–1800* (Princeton, 1976); Roger Portal, "Manufactures et classes sociales en Russie au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue historique* 201 (1949):61–85. T. Efimenko, "K istorii gorodskogo zemleustroistva vremeni Ekateriny II," *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo pravitel'stva*, N.S. 54 (1914). Iu R. Klokman, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskaya istoriya russkogo goroda: vtoraya polovina XVIII veka* (Moscow, 1967), and *Ocherki sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii gorodov severo-zapada Rossii v seredine XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1960); F. Ia. Fobenskiĭ, *Gorodskoe remeslo i manufaktura v Rossii XVIII v.* (Moscow 1960). E. A. Zviagintsev, "Slobody inostrantsev v Moskve XVIII veka," *Istoricheskiĭ zhurnal*, no. 2–3 (1944):81–86; and N. M. Druzhinin, et al., eds., *Goroda feodal'noi Rossii* (Moscow, 1966) contains useful articles for this period. Druzhinin is reviewed in Samuel H. Baron, "The Town in 'Feudal' Russia," *Slavic Review* 28 (1969):116–22. P. G. Ryndzinskii, *Gorodskoe grazhdanstvo doreformennoi Rossii* (Moscow, 1958).

¹³ Blumenfeld, "Russian City Planning," 27.

¹⁴ See V. Shilkov, "Raboty A. V. Kvasova i I. E. Starova po planirovke russkikh gorodov," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 4 (1953):30–34.

¹⁵ Pipes, *Old Regime*, 216.

¹⁶ This mix of old buildings with the new in architectural ensembles was a notable feature of classical Moscow and distinguished it especially from St. Petersburg. For a fuller discussion of this theme, see N. F. Gulianitskii, "O kompozitsii zdaniĭ v ansambl'evoi zastr'oike Moskvy perioda klassitsizma," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 24 (Moscow, 1976):20–40, hereafter cited as Gulianitskii, "O kompozitsii."

¹⁷ See Billington, *Icon*, 228. The minimum widths for Moscow in 1752 were 64 and 40 feet respectively. In Tver the width for main streets was established at 80 feet and the height of buildings at 40. Blumenfeld, "Russian City Planning," 30.

pied those streets leading into administrative plazas. Separated from one another by fences and gates, these edifices achieved the effect of a continuous facade, which gave uniformity and order to the streets and plazas of the city center.

Because the importance of classicism usually diminished in proportion to the distance from the city center, planners designed commercial squares to link the administrative center with the suburb; furthermore, they relegated to outlying areas beyond these great market squares the mélange of wooden cottages of clerks, tradesmen, artisans, and peasants, together with breweries, tallow boilers, hide tanneries, soap-making plants, cemeteries, and other polluters of earth, air, and water. For this segment of Moscow's population classicism appeared to offer very little indeed.

Classicism in Russia was not, however, an exclusive property of the idle rich; its utilitarian adaptability and endless variety were exploited throughout the provinces. True, classical residences—those of gentry (*dворяне*), princes, and well-to-do merchants—sprang up in both town and country. The style was also applied to the edifices of the bureaucracy and military, to universities, hospitals, almshouses, fire stations, river embankments, bridges, and triumphal arches—all of which exemplified accelerated building in an increasingly sophisticated society.¹⁸ Although provin-

cial classicism generally imitated that of Petersburg and Moscow, resourceful local architects frequently adapted standard designs to local conditions. Often serfs, these provincial builders incorporated elements of folk architecture in their creations. Regional variations gave provincial architecture endless variety and distinguished it from that of Petersburg and Moscow.

In summary, Catherine's building of cities resulted in sometimes majestic, but frequently artificial, creations. Instead of providing an environment for commerce, her "cities" often mirrored aristocratic affluence or served as administrative centers for recently established provincial governments. Under such circumstances, planners of boulevards often concerned themselves more with promenading than traffic and envisioned plazas for military reviews rather than commerce. Nor was it a fiction that the classical facades of a regulated street often obscured the misery of old Russia behind it. To a very considerable degree Catherine's classicism was a facade, a vast "Potemkin village."

Classicism and Moscow

Although eclipsed by St. Petersburg, Moscow became almost as much a part of the European classical scene as the new capital on the Neva.¹⁹ Early classical Moscow resulted largely from the inventiveness of Vasilii

¹⁸ The infinite varieties are discussed in George K. Lukomskii, *Arkhitektura russkoi provincii* (Petrograd, 1916). More on late eighteenth-century Russia's preoccupation with western ideas in architecture is included in several recent articles: N. F. Guliantiskii, "Tvorcheskie metody arkhitektorov russkogo klassitsizma pri razrabotke ordernykh kompozitsii," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 22 (1974):30–52, explores interest in the theory of the classical orders and notes in particular the Russian awareness of Vignola, Palladio, Vitruvius, Serlio, Blondel and others late in the eighteenth century. A. A. Kiparisova, "Stat' ob arkhitekture v russkikh zhurnalakh vtoroi poloviny XVIII veka," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 22 (1974):19–26, examines articles on varied architectural subjects published in Russian journals in the late eighteenth century. The maturity of Russian architectural thinking was further evidenced by the growth of critical literature as explored by A. F. Krasheninnikov, "Redkii dokument arkhitekturnoi kritiki v Rossii XVIII v.," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 22 (1974):27–29. See L. A. J. Hughes, "Westernization in Russian Architecture, 1680–1725," Study Group on Eighteenth Century Newsletter 6 (1978):8–11; Hughes, "Russia's First Architectural Books," *Architectural Design* (1983).

¹⁹ James Billington has stressed that Moscow became the home of anti-Enlightenment and anti-western intellectuals, Moscow "a center for the glorification of Russian antiquity and a cultural Mecca for those opposed to the Gallic cosmopolitanism of the capital." Billington further suggested that "even though [Moscow] accepted the visual veneer of classicism, it resisted the Neo-Classical culture that was being superimposed on Russian cities by Catherine" (*Icon*, 244). An opposing interpretation is that classicism and incipient nationalism were not incompatible. Cf. also Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine The Great*, 327–42 and Sidney Monas, "St. Petersburg and Moscow as Cultural Symbols," *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia*, ed. T. G. Stavrou (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), 26–39. For more on Western influence see P. Clendenning and R. Bartlett, *Eighteenth Century Russia: A Select Bibliography* (Newtonville, Mass., 1981).

Bazhenov and Matvei Kazakov. They and their colleagues, keeping their distance from Petersburg, refurbished the Kremlin and took their commissions from Moscow's grandees, whose good life Tolstoi portrayed in *War and Peace*. The Great Fire of 1812 destroyed much of their work, yet it provided an opportunity for a later generation of architects to mold their city, perhaps more faithfully than ever, to a classical ideal that in its unique way rivaled St. Petersburg. And like the latter, like Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, classical Moscow became an exemplar for the architectural tradition of early nineteenth-century Europe.

Although Moscow had hovered in the shadow of Petersburg for the first six decades of the eighteenth century, it was only deceptively barren of resources and vitality. Fires, defense, and normal building and expansion forced authorities to review constantly the city's form and function. Architects from abroad altered the old city in the baroque and rococo idiom and were emulated by their Russian students. After 1760 Moscow truly reemerged as a kind of microcosm of the divergent and vital currents of Russian life. The influx of aristocrats stamped it a "nest for the nobility," while its extensive serf population reflected how few changes had occurred in the previous century. The city became in fact a hybrid—truly old Russian in one sense, yet new in that a dynamic breed of Russian aristocrats through their building completely altered central Moscow.

Classicism in Moscow after 1750 appears to have been a vehicle for awakening national consciousness. Although the emergence of an incipient nationalism in eighteenth-century Russia, a subject studied by Hans Rogger, has not been linked specifically with classicism, it does conform to the model which he has constructed.²⁰ Rogger describes this sense of awareness as "a striving for a common identity, character, and culture by the articulate mem-

bers of a given community," which is "characteristic of a stage of development in which thinking individuals have been able to emerge from anonymity, to seek contact and communication with one another." What is original in Rogger's thesis is his insistence that "national consciousness presupposes extensive exposure to alien ways; it presupposes a class or group of men capable of responding to that exposure; it requires, moreover, the existence of a secular cultural community or an attempt at its formation." Such conditions for Russia, he concludes, could only have been met in the eighteenth century.²¹

National consciousness could not emanate from either a burdened peasantry or a service nobility, but in late eighteenth-century Russia the latter had been emancipated and endowed with both corporate rights and consciousness. New privileges and distinction encouraged the nobility to develop its own culture. Having savored the foreign, it took what it liked and began to fashion symbols and an ideology.²² Classicism became its hallmark.

The linkage of national consciousness with Catherine's classical Moscow appeared even more pronounced in the time of Alexander I. During that heroic epoch classic and romantic imagery were employed to publicize the national valor displayed against the French. Contemporaries naturally depicted resurrected Moscow as the embodiment of Russian greatness and in this instance the columned portico and the colonnaded ballroom, not the onion dome, became symbolic. That official and privileged Russia had in the course of the century following the reign of Peter the Great subsumed classicism in the Russian aesthetic was, indeed, a notable development and appropriately introduces this historical account of classical Moscow.

²¹ Ibid., 3.

²² Rogger (276–77) elaborated: "National consciousness . . . was particularly the product of the articulate, the educated, the literate portion of society—that is, its most highly Westernized sector. . . . Its, Russia's, search for a national identity was not a rejection of Europe; it was itself another aspect of the Westernization of Russian society."

²⁰ Hans Rogger, *National Consciousness in Eighteenth Century Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 3–7, 276–77.

CHAPTER II

Moscow Before Classicism

Moscow is a huge warehouse,
Petersburg a brightly lit shop.
Moscow is indispensable to Russia,
Russia is indispensable to Petersburg.

Gogol, "St. Petersburg,"
Notes of 1836

The city lies in the middle
of the country, in its bosom,
as it were.

Adam Olearius, *Travels*



Old Moscow: Origins and Early Growth

Moscow is one of the intriguing cities in the world. Once the incarnation of "Holy Russia," then relegated to a provincial capital, the city has since emerged as the exemplar of the Communist order. Situated deep within European Russia, it had not seemed destined for distinction. In this respect, the historian Robert Kerner's words are apt:

The history of Moscow is the story of how an insignificant *ostrog* [stockade] built in the first half of the twelfth century on an insignificant river by an insignificant princeling, became in the course of time the pivot of an empire extending into two, and even three, continents.

The city's origins have been traced to the twelfth century when an overflow of peoples in the Kliazma River valley north and east of

Moscow brought them by both river and land into the region. Migrating Russians heading south and west floated down the Voskhodnia (now the Skhodnia) and the Iauza; others forged roads from Novgorod through Volokolamsk in the north or from Kiev and Smolensk in the south to Rostov, Vladimir, and Suzdal north and east of Moscow.¹ The Volokolamsk Road approached Moscow at the site of the future Great Stone Bridge; the Kiev-Vladimir Road traversed the city where the future Novodevichii Monastery rose and followed the Moscow River to the latter's juncture with the Neglinnaia. There on high ground Russians built their *ostrog*, Moscow's first kremlin, which was to become the center of the city and eventually the Russian empire.

¹ See P. V. Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastrouki Moskvy 1147–1762*, I (Moscow, 1950; hereafter cited as *Istoriia*), for Moscow's early development along these highways and waterways.

Moscow passed through many phases between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries. In large part its history of fire, terror, lawlessness, Tatar attack, Polish occupation, and Old Believer persecution was Russia's history. During these centuries no plan was consciously devised to govern the city's growth, direct its traffic, or zone its various activities, yet in a very real way it had one.

Like other cities, medieval Moscow's design was of concentric walls and intersecting radial thoroughfares (fig. 1). From the close of the fifteenth century, when Ivan III embellished his decaying Kremlin, the city acquired an increasing number of masonry structures such as churches, monasteries, palaces, walls, and towers to define its silhouette. Despite these developments, and despite even the fires and sieges, the city's appearance had not changed greatly by the turn of the eighteenth century. On the eve of the accession of Peter the Great, a full two centuries after Ivan III, the old capital still was very wooden and Asian.

When Peter I became tsar in 1682, Moscow was a large city by European standards, its 150,000 or 200,000 inhabitants preoccupied with defense and commerce. Those of its populace who were tradesmen and artisans lived in what were, for the most part, primitive dwellings. Adam Olearius, a secretary in the Russian embassy of the duke of Holstein, described at mid-century what very likely was the case at the end of the century. Houses were of "pine and spruce logs laid on top of one another and crosswise (at the ends)" and contained shingled roofs plastered with sod or covered by birch bark. Exceptions were the boyar noble homes, located principally in the Belyi Gorod from which industry and the poor were banished. Broad dirt streets, easily transformed into a sea of mud during the thaw, also impressed Olearius. Such impassable streets were "covered with round logs, laid parallel to one another, so that one can walk across as readily as on a bridge."²

An English seaman named John Perry, who journeyed to Russia at the turn of the eighteenth century, was especially struck by the mixture of wealth and penury in the city:

Whenever any traveller comes with a fair view of the city, the numerous churches, monasteries, and noblemen's and gentlemen's houses, the steeples, cupolas, and crosses at the tops of the churches, which are gilded and painted over, make the city look to be one of the most rich and beautiful in the world . . . but upon a nearer view, you find yourself deceived and disappointed in your expectation.

Like Olearius he noted the endless picket fences between the streets and houses and the by-streets, which "instead of being paved with stone are lined with wood." These were

fir baulks of about 15 or 16 foot long, laid one by the side of another across the street, upon other baulks that lie underneath them lengthways on the street and lie generally above the dirt which is on each side so that the water presently runs off from them and they lie dry.³

Moscow at best appeared a portrait in wood, a mixture of the exotic and the shoddy.

Moscow's kernel was the Kremlin⁴ (fig. 2),

Olearius). For Olearius's description of wooden Moscow, see 111-17. For a related work, see W. Benesch, "The Use of Wood as a Building Material in Pre-Modern Russia: Its Extent and Potential Cultural Implications," *Journal of World History* 8 (1964): 160-67.

³ John Perry, *The State of Russia Under the Present Czar* (London, 1716; reissued N.Y., 1968; hereafter cited as *State*), 263-64. Moscow in Peter's day, according to Friedrich Christian Weber, Hanoverian foreign minister, possessed about 3,000 masonry buildings, "durable" and "for the greater part sumptuous." He suggested that they would make Moscow "a fine city if they stood regularly together, but they lie dispersed up and down between thousands of wooden houses. Besides that they do not face the streets but are hid in yards and surrounded with walls to secure them against fire and thieves." Like the houses, the streets, too, followed an irregular pattern and were generally not paved. (*The Present State of Russia . . . 1714 to 1720*, 2 vols. [London, 1722-23; reissued N.Y. 1968], 1:217).

⁴ As Moscow became by the end of the fourteenth century a major communications link with cities in the general area, new radial streets—the Tverskaia, Dmitrovskaiia, New (Novaya) Smolenskaiia, Stromynskaiia, Vladimirskaia, Kolomenskaia, Riazanskaia, and Kaluzhskaiia—connected with old streets leading from the city center. L. M. Tverskoi, *Russkoe gradostroitel'stvo do konca XVII veka* (Leningrad and Moscow, 1953), 135-48; Hans Blumenfeld, "Theory of City Form: Past and Present," *Journal*

² Samuel H. Baron, ed., *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth Century Russia* (Stanford, Calif., 1967, 112; hereafter cited as

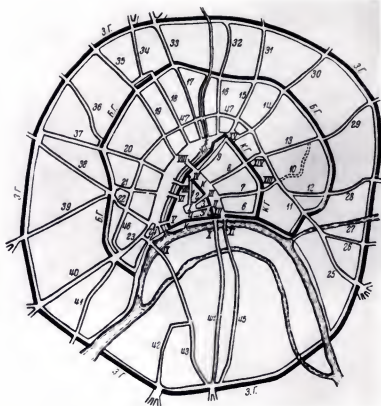


Figure 1. Seventeenth-century Moscow. System of radial thoroughfares and concentric walls (L. M. Tverskoi, *Russkoe gradostroitel'stvo do konca XVII veka*. Moscow, Leningrad, 1953).

Key to Figure 1.

1. Nikol'skaia St. (in Kremlin)
2. Savior (*Spaskaia*) St. (in Kremlin)
3. Street to bureau (*prihazy*) governmental offices (in Kremlin)
4. Street on Padol (in Kremlin)
5. Street to Konstantino-Eleninskii Gates
6. Mokrinskii Alley
7. Varvarka
8. Il'inka
9. Nikol'skaia St.
10. Great (*Bol'shoi*) Ivanovskii Alley
11. Solianka
12. Podkolokol'nyi Alley
13. Moroseika
14. Miasnitskaia
15. Great (*Bol'shaia*) Lubianka
16. Rozhdestvenka
17. Petrovka
18. Great (*Bol'shaia*) Dmitrovka
19. Tverskaia St.
20. Great (*Bol'shaia*) Nikitskaia St.
21. Vozdvizhenka
22. Znamenka
23. Volkhonka
24. Lebiazhii Lane
25. Tagannaia St. (Taganka)
26. Nikolo-Iamskaia St.
27. River Iauza
28. Vorontsovo Field
29. Pokrovka
30. Miasnitskaia
31. Sretenka
32. Trubnaia St.
33. Petrovka Karetnyi, Row (Riad)
34. Little (*Malaya*) Dmitrovka
35. Tverskaia St.
36. Little (*Malaya*) Bronnaia St.
37. Little (*Malaya*) Nikitskaia St.
38. Povarskaia St.
39. Arbat
40. Prechistenka
41. Ostozhenka
42. Great (*Bol'shaia*) Iakimanka
43. Great (*Bol'shaia*) Polianka
44. Great (*Bol'shaia*) Ordynka
45. Piatnitskaia St.
46. Great (*Bol'shoi*) Znamenskii Alley
47. Kurzhetskii Bridge (*Most*)
- I. Cathedral Plaza
- II. Konstantino-Eleninskii Gates
- III. Savior (*Spashe*) Gates
- IV. Nikol'skii Gates
- V. Borovitskie Gates
- VI. Trinity (*Tritskie*) Gates
- VII. Middle Arsenal (*Arsenal'nye*) Gates
- VIII. Iverskie Gates
- IX. Great Stone (*Bol'shoi Kamennyi*) Bridge
- X. Old Moskvoretskii Bridge
- XI. New Moskvoretskii Bridge
- XII. Moskvoretskie Gates
- XIII. Varvarskie Gates
- XIV. Il'inskii Gates
- XV. Vladimirskie Gates



Figure 2. Moscow Kremlin and Embankment. Detail of an Engraving by P. Pikar, ca. 1707 (S. V. Bakhrushin, et al., *Istoriia Moskvy*, 6 vols. 2: Moscow, 1953, frontpiece).

and beyond it lay the Kitai, Belyi, and Zemlianoi Gorods.⁵ The first Kremlin, constructed about the midtwelfth century, was finally expanded and essentially rebuilt during the

reign of Ivan III at the end of the fifteenth century. Its towers, excluding their seventeenth-century superstructure, and some of its most famous churches were creations of Italian architects and engineers, who added a Renaissance aura to this "Third Rome." At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Kremlin held within its walls the tsar's and the Granovitaia Palaces, cathedrals, churches, the Chudovyi and Ascension (*Voznesenskii*) Monasteries, and numerous administrative buildings of brick and stone. Wooden buildings of the nobility, the monasteries, and the clergy contrasted markedly with the five white church cupolas, each overlaid with smooth,

of the *Society of Architectural Historians* 8 (1949); and Robert S. Lopez, "The Crossroads Within the Wall," in Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds., *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 27–43 contains useful comment for the radial-concentric scheme of Moscow.

⁵ Kitai Gorod, frequently assumed to mean Chinatown, is a name derived from *Kit* or *Kita*, woven baskets that were filled with dirt to reinforce the wall around it (Arthur Voyce, *Moscow and The Roots of Russian Culture* [Norman, Okla., 1964], 42). Belyi Gorod (White City) took its name from the "white people," or nobility, who lived there and not from the white wall which embraced the city. The Zemlianoi Gorod (Earthen City), once surrounded by a wooden wall, acquired an earthen rampart in 1391 and thus a new name.

thick gold leaf and surmounted by a many faceted cross.

Beyond the Kremlin Gates, Red Square unfolded but was abruptly terminated by *riady*, or market stalls. The square, an oblong expanse, smaller than it is now, dated from Ivan III's time, when it was a *place d'armes*.⁶ It was the realm's political, social, and economic nerve center. If memories of Tatar attacks and serf uprisings had faded for those who lived there at the turn of the eighteenth century, executions of the *streltsy* had not. The square had always teemed with idlers, serfs, prostitutes, artisans, clergy, princes, and above all, hawkers—all of whom spilled over into the alleys and shops nearby. Olearius there in the 1630s described "sellers of silk and cloth, goldsmiths, saddlemakers, shoemakers, tailors, furriers, belt or girdlemakers, hat makers, and others each [of whom] have their special streets where they sell their wares." There was an icon market and an open air barber shop widely called the "louse market."⁷

The Kitai Gorod was principally of wooden construction although there were a few masonry churches, monasteries, and buildings in the Ambassadors', Merchants', Cow-branders', and Printers' Yards (*dvory*). Some markets on Red Square were also of brick and stone. The

Kitai Gorod radials that continued east and northwest from the Kremlin were the best articulated of any in the city and subsequently proved adaptable to a classical plan.

The Belyi Gorod, like the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod, had a long history. By the fourteenth century radial streets west of the Neglinnaia (*Zaneglimen'e*) housed settlers from Rzhnev, Velikii Ustiug, Novgorod, and Tver. A thick forest enveloped that portion of the suburb east of the river, through which passed only one main road. During the fifteenth century the Belyi Gorod became identified with the nobility and church: in Zaneglimen'e, especially, boyar estates and monasteries had replaced smaller houses, and forced a working people's settlement into the forest. Then during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a series of calamities struck the Belyi Gorod. The Crimean Tatar attack and fire of 1571 laid waste much of it. This at least resulted in a new and durable white masonry wall built in 1586–1593 to replace the old earthen rampart. Fire ravaged the area again in 1611, when the Poles occupied Moscow; and still another fire nearly destroyed this noble habitat in 1629.

Some commerce existed in this largely residential Belyi Gorod. Olearius remarked upon the number of artisans, especially bakers, and was impressed by the "bread and flour stalls, the butchers' blocks, the cattle market, and taverns selling beer, mead and vodka."⁸ In the seventeenth century, the tsar's stables and a Neglinnaia casting works for guns and bells were built. A half century later one hears of the sale of wheat, meal, flesh, cattle, beer, hydromel, and brandy, prompting the judgment that this suburb "is in a most flourishing state in respect of the variety of trades in which its inhabitants are engaged."⁹

Rivers as well as the concentric walls and radiating streets helped shape Moscow. The

⁶ Its west side was bordered by the Kremlin Wall and a nearly dried up moat; on its east, by rows of shops; and on the south terminated by St. Basil's Cathedral. At the north end, where the Historical Museum now stands, towered the Main Apothecary Shop, erected in 1699. The Execution Place (*Lobnoe Mesto*), a circular stone slab which still stands alongside St. Basil's, historically served both as a forum for tsar and churchmen to make important declarations and as the site for public executions.

⁷ Baron, *Olearius*, 114–15. The Austrian Johann-Georg Korb more than a half century later described the *riady* in front of the Kremlin as "a series of ambulatoires round about with stalls behind." He noted separate markets for silk, for other kinds of cloth, gold jewelry, furs, shoes, linen, pictures, garments, fruit, fish, birds, and for barbering. There were cellars for wine brought by sea into Archangel, and the Gostinyi Dvor where Persians, Armenians, and other foreigners displayed their merchandise. (*Diary of an Austrian Secretary of Legation*, 2 vols. in one. Transl. Count MacKonnell [Latin, 1700; English, London, 1863; reissued New York, 1968], 169). Weber, nearly three-quarters of a century after Olearius, observed that booths in the Kitai Gorod "were ranged into separate quarters and streets according to the goods sold in them." (*Present State of Russia*, 125).

⁸ Baron, *Olearius*, 115. Shops, taverns, and hotels clustered not only near the Belyi Gorod Gates and in the place d'armes along its walls, but also in the alleys and radial streets.

⁹ Korb, *Diary*, 169.

Neglinnaia River, which approached the city from the north, snaking along the Kitai Gorod and Kremlin walls to the Moscow River, was an important element in the Belyi Gorod.¹⁰ But by 1700 the Neglinnaia, which had begun to run dry along these ramparts, was little more than a series of ponds with water mills situated where the bridges passed over it.¹¹ Commercial riady on the present site of the Lenin Museum and the snack and game shops, north of the Resurrection (*Voskresenskie*) Gates (site of the Historical Museum), cluttered the left bank. Flour and granary riady occupied the opposite bank (presently the site of the Moskva Hotel). So by the turn of the century the drab brown image of the Belyi Gorod was changing as more and more palaces, shops, mills, and hotels were sharing space with private residences.

The Zemlianoi Gorod by the end of the seventeenth century had for three hundred years quartered streltsy, palace servants, tradesmen and craftsmen, horsemen, gardeners, and Tatars. Their settlements, grouped mainly on radial streets, were separated by gardens and fields. Building plots were smaller than those in the Belyi Gorod and housing, invariably of wood, was consequently denser. The Zemlianoi Gorod was once called *Skorodom*, or "quick house," because the market for building supplies existed there. Olearius observed that one could purchase a prefabricated house in Zemlianoi Gorod and have it constructed elsewhere in the city in several days.¹² That sector of Zemlianoi Gorod touching the Kremlin in the south was called *Zamoskvorech'e* ("beyond the Moscow River"), an area often beset by flooding. From the Great

Stone Bridge to the Zemlianoi Gorod Wall in the southeast, this right bank was inhabited mainly by gardeners, whose plots stretched to the river and whose houses faced the main street, the Sadovnicheskaia.

East of the Neglinnaia, an old and shallow trench carried water from the river past the Nikol'skie Gates of the Kitai Gorod to the Moscow River. In this area, between the Neglinnaia and Rozhdestvenka, stood the Cannon Court (*Pushechnyi dvor*), or armaments works. Another streltsy settlement was located near the Nikol'skie Gates, and on the Horse Market Square blacksmith shops predominated. The ditch emptied into the Moscow River by Vasil'evskii Meadow, site of the future Foundling Home (*Vospitatel'nyi dom*) that rose early in Catherine's reign.

On the west side of the Kremlin, between the Moscow and Neglinnaia Rivers, there were five radial foci, each of which was better articulated than those in either Zamoskvorech'e or along the north and east sides of the Kitai Gorod. They were 1) the Kremlin Borovitskie (or Predtechenskie) Gates, from which Lebiazhii Alley led across the Great Stone Bridge into Zamoskvorech'e; 2) the Borovitskie, as a focus for the Znamenka; 3) the Trinity (*Troitskie*) Gates and Bridge, where the old Volotskaia Road from Novgorod had once converged, as a source for the Vozdvizhenka; 4) the Middle Arsenal Gate, as the origin of the Great Nikitskaia; and 5) the Iverskie, or Resurrection, Gates and Bridge leading into Red Square. This was also the location of future Okhotnyi Riad Square and focus for the Tverskaia, Great Dmitrovka, and Petrovka.

Between the Kremlin and Belyi Gorod Wall lay numerous concentric alleys. Although some had disappeared when settlers were forced from the Belyi Gorod to permit expansion and consolidation of estate holdings during the seventeenth century, the overall appearances had scarcely changed by the mid-eighteenth century. That the disposition of concentric streets frequently resulted in relatively equal blocks suggests conscious planning

¹⁰ The Neglinnaia really cut across what is presently the southern hall of Sverdlov (formerly Theater) Square to Revolution Square and through Aleksandrovskii Garden.

¹¹ The Resurrection Bridge (*Voskresenskii Most*) linked Red Square to the Tverskaia; the Trinity Bridge (*Troitskii Most*) drew traffic from the Great (*Boi'shaia*) Nikitskaia and the Vozdvizhenka; the Predtechenskii, from the Znamenka and Prechistenka.

¹² These were really pretabs, for the "logs are already joined together and one needs only to assemble the parts and to chink [the cracks] with moss." (Baron, *Olearius*, 116; repeated almost verbatim in Weber, *Russia*, 125-26).

and regulation of streets even before the age of classical precision. By the sixteenth century Muscovites possessed a definite system of measuring streets and setting them out in straight lines.¹³ In the Kitai Gorod between the Nikol'skaia and Mokrinskii Alley, for example, there were several reasonably precise and parallel concentric passages equidistant from one another. This hint at order was possibly the result of planning efforts undertaken after large fires in 1493 and 1501, when Zaneqli-men'e was devastated. Conversely, the irregular concentric pattern of the eastern Belyi Gorod resulted from random development and the topography. Regular planning evidently occurred in the western sector, in the Prechistenka and between Streletskii and Trubnyi Boulevards (north of Trubnaia Square); in Zamoskvorech'e, however, only fragments of circular streets appeared.

The Belyi Gorod Wall extended from the Moscow River, below the Neglinnaia, in the west to the confluence of the Moscow River and the Iauza in the east. Originating in the fourteenth century as earthworks and a moat, these ramparts became in the late sixteenth century a white masonry wall, constructed under the direction of the architect Fedor Kon. Beyond this defensive perimeter an area 350 yards wide was cleared to deprive would-be attackers of cover, serve as a barrier against fire, and provide for markets and communications.¹⁴ Open space within the walls was designated a place d'armes. This barrier and its components stood until the second half of the eighteenth century when the area was gradually transformed into that Boulevard Ring which encircles a broad section of central Moscow today.

A Zemlianoi Gorod wall, erected late in the sixteenth century and measuring just over

nine miles (fifteen kilometers) in circumference, had earthwork fortifications surmounted by a wooden wall more than sixteen feet (five meters) high with a moat beneath it. This rampart consisted of nearly a hundred closed towers and thirty-four gate towers, all of which burned when the Poles occupied Moscow in 1611, during the Time of Troubles. Afterwards, in 1618, and again in 1638–1641, the earthen rampart was enlarged. Where it appeared vulnerable, especially in the southern sector between the Iauza River and the Krymskii Ford, earthen bastions and an ostrog (1659) were added. By the end of the seventeenth century the name Zemlianoi Gorod, or Earthen City, applied not only to the wall but to the entire area enclosed. The earthen walls, towers, and ostrog survived into the eighteenth century but in a deteriorating state.

Beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod ramparts lay clusters of settlements, and beyond these, estate lands and a half-dozen fortified monasteries—the Andronikov, Simonov, Danilov, Donskoi, Novospasskii, and Novodevichii—which, with their settlements, guarded the arterial approaches to the city and, in a sense, constituted still another concentric defense system. In the second third of the eighteenth century, the government moved the municipal boundary beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod into this sector, but by that time the determinant for locating the walls was the collection of revenue, not defense.

Moscow in Eclipse

Despite Moscow's strategic importance for Russia, Peter I at the beginning of the eighteenth century clearly had no intention of retaining it as his capital city. His reasons were both personal and official. He had always despised Moscow, in particular the Kremlin. Whenever possible, he had escaped the dreary fortress for the freer life among his cronies in Preobrazhenskoe on the Iauza. After the wars with Sweden had won for Russia a toe-hold on the Baltic, he founded at enormous

¹³ See Tverskoi, *Russkoe gradostroitel'stvo*, 145.

¹⁴ The Lumber Market, for example, was located at the Neglinnaia River and Belyi Gorod. The Belyi Gorod Wall possessed many towers, ten of which formed entrance gates for radial streets. These were the Vodiane, Chertolskie, Arbatkie, Nikitskie, Tverskie, Petrovskie, Sretenskie, Miasnitskie, Pokrovskie, and Iauzskie.

human and financial cost a new capital there. Although there were strategic risks in shifting Russia's capital from its bosom to an unprotected limb, it suited his purpose personally and politically to have a "window to the West." Moving the capital from Moscow to Petersburg affirmed Peter's goal of breaking decisively with the Muscovite past and establishing a "well-ordered police state," modeled after those of Europe.

Although St. Petersburg overshadowed Moscow throughout the eighteenth century, particularly during the first half, the old capital by no means lost its significance. It remained the largest city in the realm, both in its expanse and populace, although it was to lose perhaps a quarter of its 200,000 population from the plague of 1771. While Petersburg acquired the imperial trappings of a capital city, Moscow retained her historic and preeminent role as an ecclesiastical and administrative center. The sovereign, after all, did journey to Moscow for the ancient coronation rites. Despite the removal of the capital, many governmental agencies remained in Moscow, which, in any case, continued as the capital of its *guberniia*, a substantial territory that included eleven provinces.¹⁵ Nor had Moscow relinquished her essential role in commerce and industry. The College of Manufactures, which oversaw all non-metallic industry, remained there from 1719 until 1779. The city's economy continued to depend upon production of military supplies for the Arsenal and the Military Commissariat. Textiles for uniforms came to dominate Moscow's industry, and the Great Cloth Court became its economic hub.

Toward a Planned City

If Peter had no intention of embellishing his Old Capital, he was forced, nonetheless, to provide for its inhabitants' needs. He did, in fact, show concern for public health and safety, fire prevention, and defense. In the

first decade of the new eighteenth century Moscow acquired eight pharmacies and a hospital, while the Dutch physician who directed the latter was also named to head a medical school. That the tsar's concerns about health were justified may be seen in the havoc caused in Russian cities by recurring epidemics. Peter also attempted to deal forcefully with the hordes of beggars, orphans, and illegitimate children who infested Moscow; but decrees against begging and attempts to improve conditions for the children achieved little success. Crime, too, was widespread in Moscow, and the tsar's efforts to reduce it proved equally inadequate. As one of Peter's officials observed: "There is nothing pleasant to report about Moscow. . . . It is a hotbed of brigandage, everything is devastated, the number of lawbreakers is multiplying and executions never stop." In 1723 its citizenry were ordered to organize into night patrols for their own protection.¹⁶

The greatest threat to Russian urban life, however, came from fire, a frequent visitor to Moscow since early times. Olearius observed in the midseventeenth century that in this city of log houses

not a month, or even a week, goes by without some homes—or if the wind is strong, whole streets—going up in smoke. Several nights while we were there we saw flames rising in three or four places at once. Shortly before our arrival, a third of the city burned down, and we were told that the same thing happened four years earlier.¹⁷

Such conflagrations were difficult to contain. Their spread was usually prevented, not by water, but by pulling down houses in their path and carting off the wood before it could ignite.¹⁸

¹⁶ Michael Florinskii, *Russia*, 2 vols. (New York, 1953) 1:400.

¹⁷ Baron, *Olearius*, 112. This observer added: "So that the stone palaces and cellars may be spared from spreading flames, they have very small windows, and these may be sealed by sheetmetal shutters." (*ibid.*).

¹⁸ John Perry, *State*, 264–65; he also observed that the wood from razed houses often ignited and "gives train to the fire so that I have known it in less than half a day's time, when there has been a gale of wind, to burn above a Russ mile in length and destroy many thousand houses before it has been quenched."

¹⁵ Alexander, "Catherine II," 639–40.

Moscow in flames was also a way of life during the eighteenth century.¹⁹ In late July, 1699, fire gutted virtually all of the Kitai Gorod and Belyi Gorod east of the Neglinnaia. Just two years later, on 19–21 June 1701, the Kremlin itself and the embankment from the Great Stone Bridge to the Moskvoretskie Gates were devastated. The most destructive fire of the Petrine epoch occurred little more than a decade later, on 13 May 1712. Beginning in the Prechistenka at the Belyi Gorod Wall, it swept through both the Zemlianoi and Belyi Gorods to the Sretenka and ravaged, in particular, many estates.

Tsar Peter responded to these fires with a characteristic display of energy. As early as 1698, he ordered the demolition of the mass of timber buildings in Red Square, though he left near the Nikol'skie Gates a wooden theater that stood until 1737, when fire finally consumed it. Then he issued a series of edicts on building and planning.²⁰ Muscovites in the city center were henceforth required to construct masonry houses, even though shortages in fire-resistant materials usually weakened such decrees. One, dated 17 January 1701, stated that buildings destroyed in 1699 should be replaced, preferably with stone or brick or otherwise with clay. Later in 1701, the Kremlin fire necessitated masonry reconstruction in the Kremlin, Kitai Gorod, and parts of the central city. That same fire destroyed the Tsar's Garden in Zamoskvorech'e and led to the laying out of Bolotnaia Square several years later.²¹

¹⁹ The fires of eighteenth-century Moscow are enumerated in Sytin, *Istoriia* 1:187 ff. Perry reasoned that the constant firing of the city was a principal factor in the poverty of the people and was five times more harmful to the city than taxes and war. (*State*, 264–66).

²⁰ The edicts are recorded in Sytin, *Istoriia* 1:188 ff. and S. V. Bakhrushin, et al., *Istoriia Moskvy*, 6 vols. (Moscow, 1952–1959) 2:84 ff. Hereafter cited as *Istoriia Moskvy*.

²¹ On occasion these decrees appeared to contradict their general intent. One in 1705 sought to conserve fire-resistant materials by forbidding their use, except for churches, outside the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod; moreover, edicts were often ignored. That of 28 January 1704, requiring masonry buildings in the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod to front on the street, had to be reaffirmed in both 1709 and 1710. In the midst of these reissues there were especially serious fires in 1709 in the Belyi Gorod, Zemlianoi Gorod, and beyond, and in 1710 in the Kitai Gorod. (Sytin, *Istoriia* 1:198).

The masonry structures that Peter prescribed were certainly fire-resistant. John Perry, writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, described their thick walls bound with iron bars and arched over at the top, their iron doors, and their shutters. In time of fire, only the roof burned, and sometimes even that loss was averted by substitution of tile or sheets of iron for the usual fir boards.²² But, alas, few such sturdy structures were ever erected. Material and labor costs were prohibitive; more importantly, Petersburg's insatiable appetite for building materials during these years left little for Moscow. What often passed for masonry, and so designated below, was stucco over wattle and wood, no less vulnerable to fire than the old log houses. Peter's edicts to make Moscow fireproof were well-intended but largely unfulfilled.

After the great fire in May 1712, the tsar brought the Belyi Gorod under his scrutiny. He prohibited construction of wooden buildings there and decreed that either tile or sod roofing be used on those of masonry and clay. In an edict of June 1712, he required owners of masonry and clay houses in both the Kitai and Belyi Gorod to bring their building facades to the street or risk dispossession of their land.

Like the earlier ones, Peter's edicts of 1712–1714 failed to achieve the desired results. Once again the flow of masonry materials to Petersburg reduced to a mere trickle those available for the Belyi Gorod. Edicts lifting the ban on wood construction (1714 ff.) there cited the necessity to limit masonry building until the New Capital was completed.²³ One decree required clay for building in central Moscow, including the Belyi Gorod; another stressed brick or stone but specified their use

²² Perry, *State*, 267.

²³ The ban on masonry construction was in effect from 1714–1728, but an exodus of architects and skilled workmen to St. Petersburg during these years had a numbing effect on building in Moscow for years after. Weber concluded that Peter's restriction on rebuilding resulted from the diverting of funds to construction in Petersburg; Moscow, he assumed, would simply deteriorate. (*Present State of Russia*, 126–27).

for the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod.²⁴ Such contradictions simply left a loophole for continuing wooden construction in the Belyi Gorod and elsewhere. Moreover, each new edict virtually repeated the substance of an earlier one; evidently, no one listened.

Although the government retreated to its position of 1704–1705 after its notable failure to improve the Belyi Gorod between 1712–1714, Peter I and his architects continued their efforts to safeguard central Moscow from fire through regular planning. Besides his 1704 edict on masonry houses, Peter had decreed that stone should replace wood pavements. Although this measure was abandoned in 1709 as impractical, house owners were, nonetheless, responsible under pain of fine or the knout, for repairing their wooden pavements. A decree in 1718 specified that an architect supervise all construction in Moscow, but the evidence suggests that property owners continued to circumvent building regulations. In January 1722, the Office of Police assumed responsibility for such supervision. At the end of the same year a special Instruction, which remained a fundamental document for the rest of the century, set forth a code for both police and architects.

The Instruction of 1722 fostered the concept of regular planning by requiring that the fronts of all Moscow houses be placed along a specified line of the street. Property owners in the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod had to construct masonry houses within four years or face the loss of their holdings through dispossession or exchange. The directive also required clay ceilings, tile roofs, and, for houses in the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod, basements.

The Instruction did not rid Moscow of fire. Conflagrations in 1730, 1736, and 1737 did convince officials of the urgency of imple-

menting Peter I's decrees, most of which had been either rescinded or ignored. Prohibitions against chimneyless houses in the Kremlin, Kitai Gorod, and Belyi Gorod, and those against houses without foundations in the first two locations were about the only edicts which had been enforced. In 1730, fire in the Novinskii (now the Chaikovskii Garden Ring) and beyond the Moscow River persuaded officials that future building in these locations must conform to specifications and that a plan for the area should be prepared with that in mind. They further recommended streets with standard widths of 56 to 70 feet, nearly twice as wide as had been considered a few years earlier. The fire that swept the Arbat and spread to the Novinskii in 1736 hurried this planning process. One such plan projected straightened and widened streets and alleys (streets from 56 to 63 feet and alleys at least 21 feet wide) and specific types of buildings such as one-story frame with mezzanine and two-story masonry or masonry and wood. Similar projections were made for other parts of the city. The following year a fire swept from the Kremlin eastward, past the Iauzskie Gates to Lefortov and beyond, destroying 2,527 private houses and many churches and stores.²⁵

Besides precautions against fire, the Instruction of 1722 emphasized the regulation of river banks, which were to be lined with "wood and . . . be packed with earth solidly so that there be free passage on these banks."²⁶ Peter's Instruction and the many decrees preceding it foreshadowed the kind of regulated city that possessed Moscow planners a half century later. Moscow was simply too important to ignore, however disagreeable it was to Russia's rulers.

Defense measures as well as fires were changing the face of central Moscow in Peter's day. What appeared as an imminent attack on Moscow by Charles XII of Sweden in 1707–1708 caused the tsar to order eighteen earthen

²⁴ Perry marveled at the "stupidity and injudiciousness of the Russ lords and counsellors" for not coping better with the fire hazard. Convinced that losses from fires over a twenty-year span exceeded what might have been spent for masonry rebuilding, he was especially critical of the state's tax upon brick which inhibited the very kind of construction so desperately needed. (Perry, 266).

²⁵ *Istoriia Moskvy* 2:334–35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

pentagonal bastions to be raised before both the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod to reinforce their decaying walls. Earthen fortifications buttressed the Nikol'skie and Savior (*Spasskie*) Gates in Red Square, as well as those walls between the Vodovzvodnaia (Water) Tower and the Tainitskie Gates along the Moscow River.

To facilitate erection of these bastions, the course of the Neglinnaia along the west side of the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod was altered. Peter's engineers channeled this river into a newly excavated moat; and after filling its old bed with refuse and dirt, they laid rows of logs there to support the earthen bastions. When these encroached on the commercial streets and shops on the congested left bank, some, like the snack and game shops, were transferred to the right bank (site of Manezh Square); others were razed. The Apothecary Garden was moved to another location; and the meal stalls, previously on the right bank (site of the Moskva Hotel), were, in part, demolished. East of the Neglinnaia, the bastions eliminated the old ditch and diverted the waters to a new one in front of the defense works. Although war, unlike fire, was not a recurring menace, the prospect of Moscow under siege created great apprehension and led to physical changes in the city's center which obstructed planning endeavors for more than a century. Not until the bastions were demolished after 1812 did substantial building occur in the Kremlin area.

The city's growth and embellishment, no less than fire and defense, accounted for some notable construction in Moscow at the turn of the eighteenth century. One of the most important of these edifices was the new Arsenal (1702-1736), situated along and rising above the interior wall of the Kremlin between the Nikol'skie and Trinity Gates. In an architectural sense it foreshadowed Moscow's classical future.

Aside from the Arsenal, the Kremlin and environs received little embellishment during the early eighteenth century. Hitherto the great repository of Russian architectural treas-

ures and residence of the tsar, the old fortress rather ingloriously became a government office complex. Under such circumstances, its old palaces fell into decay, except when a royal visit or coronation required hurried renovation.

A few new structures did rise beyond the Kremlin Walls. One of these, the Great Stone Bridge (1687-1692) could hardly claim to be a harbinger of classicism, although it became a fixture in the changing city. Near it, a triumphal arch commemorated the conquest of Azov in 1696. The stone Cloth Court (1705), a two-story, rectangular predecessor to Michurin's Court of 1746, exemplified the latest in industrial architecture. Removed from the center of the city, near the Zemlianoi Gorod Wall, stood Mikhail Choglokov's monumental Sukharev Tower (1692-1701), which, like the Great Stone Bridge, was inspired by Russia's National Style. The Main Apothecary was another Petrine creation in Moscow. Erected in the early years of the new century between the Resurrection and Nikol'skie Gates in Red Square, it was three-storied with a small tower and a columnar facade, an interesting blend of the national and proto-classical.

Russia's first theater, a wooden one, was built in 1702 near these Nikol'skie Gates, while across the square by St. Basil's appeared Russia's first book shop, the facade of which, curiously, suggested buildings of a century later. The two most important proto-classical monuments erected in central Moscow during Peter's reign were the Church of the Archangel Gabriel, commonly known as the Menshikov Tower and the Church of St. Ivan The Warrior in Zamoskvorech'e. Built near the Pokrovskie Gates, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Menshikov Tower was designed by the Ukrainian Ivan Petrovich Zarudnyi. It and the Sukharev Tower added two soaring elements to the Moscow silhouette during this relatively dormant period.

The Church of Ivan the Warrior (1709-1713, on the Iakimanka), another of Zarudnyi's creations, drew on Russia's past for its

octagonal bell tower, pyramid of tiers, and faceted facade but allowed for innovation in its gables, large windows with decorated architraves, classical pilasters, and volutes by the oval windows at the top and the two tiers below. Such baroque-classical elements in both the Menshikov Tower and Church of St. Ivan could only surprise anyone convinced that Moscow was destined for obscurity.²⁷

The Iauza River area assumed especial importance in the building that occurred in Peter's reign. Initially, peasant manufactures there necessitated the construction of factories, barns, and warehouses along its banks. One such industrial complex, the Cloth Court, had been the admiralty's sailcloth factory since 1696. The Iauza, however, achieved significance in Russian architecture and planning as a site for palatial rather than industrial architecture.

At the end of the seventeenth century the Iauza, the village of Lefortov especially, had already developed a reputation as an idling place for aristocracy and royalty alike. Lefortov had come into being when one of Peter's favorites, Francis Lefort, established quarters for troops there.²⁸ Peter himself had been drawn to the camp to seek the protection of his Semenov and Preobrazhenskii regiments from an unreliable streltsy. As Lefortov village acquired status and appropriate embellishment, it emerged as a prototype for classical planning and building in Russia, even before

St. Petersburg. One authority has called it "the birthplace of regulated planning and building of eighteenth-century Russia" and cited the historian Solov'ev's remark that Moscow's Foreign Suburb on the Iauza was "a first step to Petersburg just as Vladimir was one to Moscow."²⁹

Building along the Iauza actually accelerated during the first half of the eighteenth century. Just before his death, Peter I had begun, but failed to complete for himself, restoration of the palace of Admiral F. A. Golovin. New palace-park ensembles did appear there in the 1730s. In 1731, the promising young architect Bartolommeo Rastrelli built next to the Golovin complex the summer Annen'hof for the Empress Anna Ivanova. Even the Winter Annen'hof, built by Rastrelli in the Kremlin the previous year, was dismantled and moved to the Iauza; but, alas, both burned in 1746. Significant in the planning of these two ensembles had been the laying out of the Annen'hof groves. Two royal dwellings constructed on the site of the original Golovin palace were, in turn (1753 and 1771), ravaged by fire. Besides palaces, other edifices relating to the royal presence portended classicism on the Iauza. A Senate building in the Foreign Suburb (1702) was the first. A military hospital, begun in 1706–1707, graced the river with its main facade by 1720. Its octagonal cupola bore a greater resemblance to the silhouette of new Petersburg than to any ornament in old Moscow.

²⁷ Cf. also Igor E. Grabar', *Russkaya arkhitektura pervoi poloviny XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1954), 19–38, hereafter cited as *Russkaya arkhitektura*. Although the spire and upper portions of the original Menshikov Tower burned in 1723, the structure was restored in the 1770s. The present tower dates from the late 1830s. Kathleen Berton, *Moscow: An Architectural History* (New York, 1977), hereafter cited as *Moscow*, has noted Bazhenov's admiration for the Church of St. Ivan the Warrior (111). The Gateway Church of the Tikhvin Mother of God (1713–14) in Donskoi Monastery and Zarudnyi's (?) and I. Michurin's Zai-konospasskii Monastery (1711–20, 1742) are other examples of transitional churches, which reflected both the Moscow and European baroque. Examples of transitional secular architecture are the palace of Averki Kirillov and the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century dwellings in the Staraya Basman-naia.

²⁸ Cf. Samuel H. Baron, "The Origins of Seventeenth Century Moscow's Nemeckaja Sloboda," *California Slavic Studies* (1970): 1–17.

²⁹ A. V. Bunin, *Istoria gradostroitel'nogo iskusstva* (Moscow, 1953), 434. An important forerunner of the classic in Lefortov was the Petrovskii (also called Lefortovskii or Menshikov) Palace, the work of the architects Dmitrii Vasil'evich Aksamitov and probably Giovanni-Maria Fontana. Although initially in the Muscovite style when completed in 1697–1698 or 1699, the Petrovskii was completely rebuilt after passing into the hands of Peter's favorite, Menshikov, in 1707. It received additions from the original rectangular block, forming a great square court, within which the new facades constituted a striking array of columns, pilasters, and arched galleries. This palace, which was joined by a regulated park that descended to the Iauza, became the first in a succession of royal dwellings, baroque and classical, to grace that area. See N. I. Brunov, et al., *Istoria russkoi arkhitektury* (Moscow, 1956), 238, 274, for drawings of both. R. Podof'skii, "Petrovskii dvorets na Iauze," *Arkhitektura i nasledstvo* 1 (1951): 15–62 and Igor E. Grabar', *Russkaya arkhitektura*, 17–21. Cf. below, 113.

By the end of Peter's reign in 1725, Moscow's growth beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod made that barrier obsolete as a realistic boundary for the city, and, at the same time, caused that area, like the Iauza, to change dramatically in appearance. In 1722, the city officials in an effort to regulate trade, impose duties, and, above all, reduce smuggling, transferred the toll gates to points on the main roads beyond this barrier; but smugglers persisted, using secondary roads.³⁰ In 1731–1732 Moscow wine sellers, in an attempt to thwart such abuses, erected the Kompaneiskii Wall, extending from these toll gates. Because this wall deteriorated in the course of a decade, the wine sellers persuaded the Kamer College, which supervised the collection of revenues through the spirits monopoly, to construct an earthen wall with eighteen toll gates and a moat before it. This barrier became in 1742 the toll boundary of the city, and in 1754 its overall boundary; but not until the beginning of the nineteenth century, in 1806, did it receive recognition as Moscow's official city limits.³¹

Moscow changed strikingly with the incorporation of lands beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod. Its meadows, groves, grazing land, gardens and fields, and scattered settlements—despite proximity to urban Moscow—made this sector distinctively rural in the first half of the eighteenth century.³² The area newly enclosed by the Kamer College Wall, primarily along the radial streets, included many of the settlements that had long constituted a part of the city population. Since the sixteenth century, some roads leading into Moscow had been settled by carriage drivers.³³ The foreign enclave on the Iauza, the sizable

Polish and White Russian Meshchanskaia community of craftsmen and tradesmen beyond the Sretenskii Gates, and the military settlements of the Preobrazhenskii, Semenovskii, and Lefortovskii regiments beyond the Iauza appeared during the course of the next century. The roads twisting through these villages also passed the monasteries that guarded the approaches to the city and the estates of large landowners, who earlier had moved beyond the city limits. They had established themselves principally in the south between the Great Kaluzhskaia Road and the Moscow River, and in the west between Great Gruzinskia Street and the Zemlianoi Gorod Wall.

A land revolution occurred in the Zemlianoi Gorod and beyond during the first half of the eighteenth century. Nobility, in increasing numbers, acquired settlement lands and consolidated these into large estates. In retrospect, building on the Iauza was but an initial step in this process. Streltsy land in Zamoskvorech'e, as early as 1698, had gone to merchants and artisans. When the capital was transferred in 1713, the Tsar's Settlement, where the palace servants resided, lost its purpose; thereupon, the land was sold and the populace dispersed. After their emancipation from state service in 1762, members of the nobility came in large numbers to Moscow—particularly to its suburbs—where they, too, succeeded in wresting settlement lands from previous occupants. Not surprisingly, these new residents turned to the architecture of classicism as they embellished these lands and their beloved city.

The Old Capital at the outset of the eighteenth century was large and important in many ways. Its unique dynamism resulted in changing configurations of settlement, which in turn influenced building and the disposition of alleys and streets. Expansion was a third factor portending the emergence of classical Moscow.

The Michurin Plan of 1739

All of the factors described in the previous section prompted some orderly planning,

³⁰ A wooden wall was erected in 1722 between the turnpikes but was dismantled by peasants in search of fuel.

³¹ Internal customs were abolished in Russia in 1754. That established in 1806 was the police boundary; the city was separated from the district in 1864.

³² The open space here included the Deviche, Miuskoe, and Kalanchevskoe Pole, or fields.

³³ The five settlements of the coachmen were the Kolomenskaia, Dorogomilovskaia, Pereiaslavskaia, and Rogozhskiaia, whose populations were very much engaged in the urban life nearby.

which culminated in the Michurin plan of 1739. As early as the spring of 1731, an edict had appeared "concerning the drawing of a plan for the city of Moscow." It stated that "as there is no accurate plan of Moscow, our residence and houses are built without order; therefore, we require that an accurate plan of Moscow, of large streets and small, be drawn."³⁴ This task eventually fell to two young and talented Petersburg architects, Ivan Aleksandrovich Mordvinov, and, after his premature death in 1734, to Ivan Fedorovich Michurin.³⁵

The plan of 1739 offered an entirely new perspective for transforming Moscow and its suburbs as far as the Kompeneiskii Wall.³⁶ Based on a geodesic survey and thereby exhibiting the actual topography of the city, the plan showed streets, alleys, blocks, fortress walls and towers, churches, large estates, groves, and fields. Although small in scale, the plan served as a basis for regulating streets, issuing permits, and approving plans for new construction until 1775.

Michurin, who depicted Moscow's streets and alleys exceptionally well, made few changes from earlier plans in the Kitai Gorod and the arterial and concentric thoroughfares of the Belyi Gorod. He reduced the number of Belyi Gorod alleys from those appearing in the late seventeenth-century Petrov plan and increased the size of the blocks, principally because of consolidation of land holdings by the nobility. More than his predecessors, Michurin detailed the Zemlianoi Gorod, representing new radial streets and over four hundred others not appearing on seventeenth-century drafts. The innumerable alleys suggested settlement plots with connecting passageways. That many of these streets ap-

peared regular and precise represented pious hope rather than reality. Beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod, Michurin plotted main streets, some alleys, squares, open spaces, and even houses fronting on straightened streets. Although these, too, were designated as regulated and completed, for the most part such was not the case.

The Michurin plan did surpass previous ones in depicting Moscow's landmarks and its changing configuration of settlement, especially in the Belyi and Zemlianoi Gorod, where the number of settlements diminished. A 1737-1745 housing census revealed that the Moscow poor, for the most part, lived in and beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod.³⁷

Implicit in Michurin's plan was the need to supervise building. Such monitoring had actually existed from the beginning of the century when Peter I charged the office of architect and the police with this responsibility. Edicts in April and May, 1742, specified codes for building and street and alley width (56 and 28 feet respectively) and authorized an "architectural staff" to assist the police in their execution. Although this staff possessed authority to issue building permits, it often was ignored by the police, who really held the reins of power. The architectural staff, initially consisting of an architect and four assistants, was later supplemented by additional assistants and architecture students. From May, 1742, until his death in 1745, Ivan Iakovlevich Blank held the post of architect; subsequently, Prince Dmitrii Vasil'evich Ukhtomskii served in it for fifteen years. The inclusion of the architectural staff in the police office lasted until 1780, when supervision of building

³⁷ *Istoriia Moskvy* 2:337. The number of yards (*dvory*) were as follows:

| Parts of the city | 1701 | | 1737-1745 | |
|------------------------|--------|------|-----------|-------|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| Kreml' | 43 | .25 | 10 | .1 |
| Kitai Gorod | 271 | 1.75 | 171 | 1.4 |
| Belyi Gorod | 2532 | 15.5 | 1249 | 10.4 |
| Zemlianoi Gorod | 7394 | 45.2 | 5351 | 44.6 |
| Beyond Zemlianoi Gorod | 6117 | 37.3 | 5203 | 43.5 |
| | 16,357 | 100 | 11,984 | 100.0 |

³⁴ *Istoriia Moskvy* 2:334.

³⁵ Before his death in 1734 Mordvinov had worked in the Kremlin, Kitai Gorod, and parts of the Belyi Gorod. (Brunov, *Istoriia russkoi arkhitektury*, 296 and Igor E. Grabar' et al., *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, [Moscow, 1960] 5:153-55; hereafter cited as *Ikusstva*).

³⁶ The Michurin Plan was not a project design. The best and most detailed account of it is in Svtin, *Istoriia* 1:261-79.

passed briefly to the Kamennyi Prikaz, or Masonry Bureau. After the dissolution of the Kamennyi Prikaz this responsibility fell to another office, the so-called *Uprava blagochiniia*.

The rash of fires in mideighteenth century Moscow impelled such planning as Michurin's. Hardly had the city recovered from a conflagration in 1737, when another in 1748 devastated sizable portions of the area beyond the Iauza, including the village of Pokrovskaia and the Foreign Suburb.³⁸ Tatishchev, the head of police, urged the straightening of streets to reduce the hazards of fire.³⁹ An edict of 2 July 1748, for example, stated that "buildings in burned-out areas be constructed according to the means and desires of the builder, whether of stone or wood, large or small, with a notice given to the police with a presentation of the plans for the approval of such."⁴⁰ Principal streets and alleys projected for straightening were marked in red, thus making "red lines" (*krasnye linii*) a part of the official vocabulary of planning in Moscow after midcentury. An edict passed on 30 June 1752 required that plans approved by the Empress Elizabeth use red lines for streets and alleys and set the width of primary streets at seventy feet and alleys at forty-two. These

dimensions remained standard through the nineteenth century.

Despite talk for half a century of the benefits of masonry construction, stucco and wood, especially, fulfilled most building needs at midcentury. Constant shortages in brick and stone caused either delays or neglect. When Tatishchev reported to the Empress Elizabeth in 1750 that the decaying walls of the Belyi Gorod created a hazard, she ordered their partial dismantlement. This salvageable brick from razed sections was immediately used to repair both government and private structures. The demand for building materials also resulted from the accelerated construction in both the city and its suburbs.⁴¹ In the Kitai and Belyi Gorods, intensive building (often of splendid town houses) proceeded more rapidly than in the Zemlianoi Gorod, where wealthy landowners were consolidating their properties. The latter built masonry mansions; however, the Zemlianoi Gorod occupants whom they displaced invariably embraced traditional wooden modes of construction farther from the city.

At midcentury Moscow confronted essentially the same problems that it had a half century earlier. Despite the city's first coherent plan, that of Michurin, fires, changing population configuration, and materials shortages left Elizabeth's officialdom as bewildered and as unsuccessful in coping with Moscow's problems as Peter's had been. The need existed for a coordinated effort by trained personnel and for an efficient organization. When both appeared in the second half of the century, the results were remarkable.

³⁸ The Ostozhenka, Volkhonka, and Miasnitskaia areas also burned.

³⁹ A. Tatishchev (the Moscow general policeman; not V. N. Tatishchev, the historian) designated that old streets be traced in black on the plans; new construction was to be marked in red. In this way began the practice of representing straightened streets also in red and referring to them as the "*krasnye linii*," or the "red lines," on which the facades of new housing were placed.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Istoriia Moskvy* 2:340.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 341.

CHAPTER III

Planning Classical Moscow 1762–1812: The Task and the Resources



The half-century before 1812 proved trying for Moscow's architects. In endeavoring to change the city's appearance from a traditional to classical idiom, they were confronted by the quantitative dimensions of the task, uncertain commitment, and funding. At times it seemed that planners were forced to vent their frustrations simply by drafting more plans while chaotic old Moscow persisted.

Catherine's Moscow

The magnitude of ordering Moscow was confirmed by visitors, foreign and domestic, who wrote of what they perceived. The Englishman, William Coxe, spoke in 1778–1779 of a “vast city . . . stretched in the form of a crescent to a prodigious extent” with “innumerable churches, towers, gilded spires and domes, white, red and green buildings, glittering in the sun forming a splendid appearance yet strangely contrasted by an intermixture of wooden hovels.”¹ Edward Daniel Clarke, another English traveler, concluded that the city was a mass of contradictions, “everything extraordinary as well as disappearing in expectation.” Like Coxe, Clarke

gazed upon glittering spires, burnished domes, and painted palaces; within the gates he found “nothing but wide and scattered suburbs—huts, gardens, pigsties, brick walls, churches, dunghills, palaces, timber yards, warehouses, and a refuse as it were of sufficient materials to stock an empire with miserable towns and villages.”² Russians themselves confirmed these paradoxes. The poet Konstantin Nikolaievich Batushkov described Moscow as “that strange mixture of old and newest of architecture, misery, and riches.”³ Truly, the city at midcentury was a conglomeration: stately palaces beside the meanest hovels; commerce and industry at once in their midst and yet spilling into the suburbs; expansive estates of the nobility; and sprawling monasteries encompassed by white masonry walls and crowned with glistening bulbous cupolas. Small wonder that travelers exclaimed of Moscow as if it were of the exotic East.

During the reign of Catherine II, despite both that sovereign's personal dislike for the city and the aura of St. Petersburg, Moscow's

¹ *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, 5 vols. (London, 1802) 1:277.

² *Travels in Russia, Tartary, and Farkes* (Edinburgh, 1839), 17. Hereafter cited as *Travels*.

³ Quoted from *Istoria Moskvy* 3, *Period nachozheniia krepostnogo stana* (Moscow, 1954):142.

importance was reestablished. Large, industrial, disordered, and with a populace often unruly and impoverished, Moscow had become an essential commercial, administrative, and cultural center as well as a habitat for the nobility recently emancipated from state service. Its new Foundling Home and university represented the best of humanitarian and enlightened intentions. The university, located appropriately near the Nobles' Meeting House and Maddox Theater, gave Moscow an intellectual focus. The versatile scholar Mikhail Lomonosov had been a founder, and the poet Mikhail Kheraskov was its curator after 1778. Nikolai Novikov, who became manager of the university press in 1779, probably had the greatest intellectual impact of any. Besides editing a weekly satirical journal and the official *University Gazette*, he headed the controversial Free Mason movement and won notoriety for criticizing Catherine for her failure to enact social and political reform. With Kheraskov, the architects Bazhenov and Kazakov, the historian Shcherbatov, and others, he helped establish in Moscow a promising, if not pulsating, intellectual and artistic environment.

The manufacture of textiles, as noted above, dominated Moscow's industry at this time, and its center was Michurin's Great Cloth Court in Bolotnaia Square. At its peak production, about 1771, this factory employed some 1,400 workers, mainly bonded, and operated 140 looms. It produced principally woolen "soldier cloth" for uniforms and kersey for linings—all for the Military Commissariat nearby. Other woolen mills were located on the Iauza, east of the Kremlin, and outside of the city. The Sailcloth Court in Preobrazhensk and Ivan Tame's factory, located in the Khamovniki sector of the Zemlianoi Gorod, both produced linen cloth. Other textile factories were located in the old mint in Kadashevskii Court, near the Great Cloth Court, and in the Ambassador's Court in the Kitai Gorod east of the Kremlin.¹ This industry, especially the

large factories with a hundred or more workers, was a mixed blessing socially and economically. Its contribution to the city's disarray and social problems made it a major consideration in any planning endeavor.

While manufacturing and commerce required factories, wharves, warehouses, and well-planned marketing areas, it remained for Moscow's privileged class to exercise the greatest influence on the allocation of space within the city. The nobility required spacious accommodations, which meant mansions, granaries, and cookhouses for themselves and their servants. In effect, they transferred the comforts and expectations of rural estate living to the city's very center. Moscow's aristocracy, like that in Western European capitals,

expected the city to provide them with elegant squares to set off their homes, with picturesque monuments, and with parks and boulevards that would supply a backdrop for the May Corso, for the Spring Parade, for the *ausflug* or Sunday excursion, for the gentleman on horseback and the lady in her carriage.²

As town walls gave way to wide concentric boulevards, spacious plazas unfolded across the sites of the old city gates. These changes, which cost Moscow some of her inscrutable alleys and meandering streams, also allowed new classical facades to encroach upon those of "wooden" Moscow.³

Grandees and gentry, collecting in the Belyi Gorod, required such amenities as a Gentlemen's University Boarding House, Nobles' Meeting House, university, and Maddox's Theater on the Petrovka. Splendid estates soon bedecked both the city center and its

¹ Oscar Handlin, "The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study," in Handlin and Burchard, eds., *The Urban and the City*, 21.

² In theory, at least, provincial architects had little opportunity to create their own brand of classicism; instead they were obligated to conform to standard facade designs of prominent Petersburg and Moscow architects. The "model facades" were published and distributed through the realm. The best account is E. Beletskaya, N. Kravchenkova, L. Chernozubova, L. Etn., "Obraztsy" proekty v zhilo-zatvorko russkikh gorodov XVIII-XIX vv. (Moscow, 1961; hereafter cited as Beletskaya, "Obraztsy" proekty).

³ John Alexander, "Catherine II," 645-53 *passim*.

outskirts. Situated within deep courts these edifices consisted of great central blocks, colonnaded porches, and expansive lateral wings—all washed in pastels and secured behind ornamental fences and gates. This architecture of affluent Moscow, less massive and better integrated with the environment than that of St. Petersburg, consequently radiated greater warmth and intimacy.

The outer reaches of the city, by contrast, were hardly affected by these initial planning efforts. Although the nobility absorbed lands of tradesmen and craftsmen in the suburbs and occasionally built Palladian mansions in the midst of wooden cottages, the area remained cluttered in places and traditionally rural.⁷

While planning was required both to order industrial Moscow and beautify the aristocratic city, the decisions required to move it along a classical path came only gradually from a reluctant empress. Catherine II, like Peter I, detested the Old Capital. She remembered, perhaps, her unhappy experiences there as a grand duchess; moreover, her conception of well-ordered European cities, real or imagined, was assaulted by both the disordered environment and seditious and rude Muscovites. She admitted her disdain for its alien architecture, polluting industry, and congested wooden hovels and her disgust for its many filthy beggars and bondage laborers. She was convinced that the perpetual threat of pestilence, fire, and civil insurrection in Moscow was undermining her entire realm. Dread of this city led Catherine to stay away from it during most of her reign; failing, however, to wish it away, she reluctantly set herself to the task of improving it. Her efforts

on behalf of the Old Capital, then, were definitely a labor of necessity, not of love.

Catherine II's arrival in 1762 for her coronation, celebrated by the customary placing of triumphal arches at various entrances to this "originally enthroned capital," impressed upon her the need to do something. She and her entourage remained in Moscow until the middle of the following year. Her decree of 23 October 1762, called for the repair of bridges and a greater cleanliness in the city. She reiterated the ban on new factories in both Moscow and Petersburg. Decrees prohibiting workshops that used fire in their production actually had been in effect for the Belyi Gorod and Zemlianoi Gorod since early in the century; moreover, in 1754 the Empress Elizabeth had sought a reduction of industry in Moscow in order both to conserve wood fuel and avoid deforestation of the environs of the city.⁸ But if in her initial decree Catherine seemed only to be following the policies of her predecessors, she clearly broke new ground in that of 11 December 1762, which enlarged the 1737 Commission for Building to include Moscow.

This Commission, a Senate auxiliary, supervised planning for all cities and included many prominent figures. The architect-draftsman Aleksei Kvasov headed its operational department from the time that he transferred to the Commission in April, 1763, until his death in 1772. His successors were the architect I. E. Starov and in 1774 Ivan Lennu, or Lehm. The Commission also had within its ranks architects' helpers recruited from the Office of the Academy of Sciences and "architectural draftsmen" from the Academy of Arts. Experienced geodesists came to the Commission from the Engineering Corps and the Surveying Office of the Senate. City and provincial geodesists and architects, appointed by provincial governors, frequently collaborated with the Commission in the planning of cities in late eighteenth-century Russia. The Commission was responsible for most of the

⁷ See V. Snegirev, *Moskovskie slobody* (Moscow, 1947) and P. V. Sytin, *Iz istorii moskovskikh ulits* (Moscow, 1959), 338. Hereafter cited as *Uits*. The nobility, particularly, moved into the Foreign Suburb and Basmanaia settlements east of the Zemlianoi Gorod on the laza, appropriating empty lots between the city and the settlements as well. Extensive surveying during Catherine II's reign ordered the former suburbs by imposing limits on the land holdings and facilitating the abolition of "taxable lands" and their transfer to private ownership.

⁸ Alexander, "Catherine II," 654–55.

plans and "model" projects for home building at this time. These plans, which originated in the provinces in accord with guidelines set forth by the Commission, were sent to the Commission which approved or corrected them, or even sent architects into the provinces to make the necessary adjustments.⁹

In effect, the decree of 1762 promised equal treatment for Moscow and Petersburg. Catherine ordered that "the same thing should be done for Moscow, which, because of the age of its construction, has not yet come into any order and has not been freed from the hazard of fire." Fire, she added "brings great destruction to the city because of its cramped and disordered wooden buildings." She further directed that the Commission function as the seventeenth-century Kamennyi Prikaz had for her predecessors, "so that those who wanted to build masonry houses could do so without difficulty" and that "all the materials under its supervision . . . be sold to those demanding it and not at a punishing price."¹⁰

Lest this stilted language obscure her real feelings, the empress stated elsewhere her opposition to the concentration in Moscow of big industries, especially textile. These she concluded contributed to the city's overpopulation, disorder, and pollution; Moscow's water, incidentally, was too dirty even for dyeing.¹¹ Plague, no less than fire, she perceived as a prospect for her city.¹² Despite such premonitions Catherine did little in the next decade to remove industry of any sort from central Moscow. Even the ban on new building seems to have been relaxed at an early date: in February 1763 permission was granted to establish a silver and gold tapestry factory. Other such approvals followed.

Reordering Moscow: A Cadre of Pioneering Architects

Catherine's Russia did not lack entirely the resources to plan Moscow's refurbishment. Steps had been taken several decades earlier to develop a cadre of architects experienced in the field and acquainted with the problems of materials procurement and architectural education. As it turned out, these early developments proved valuable for Catherine's Moscow enterprise.

Among the architects working in Moscow during the 1730s and 1740s, Ivan Kuz'mich Korobov, Michurin, Mordvinov, and Ivan Grigor'evich Ustinov had been the most important. These men, having studied in the Netherlands as "pensionaries" of Peter I, returned to work in Russia, perhaps unexpectedly to Moscow.¹³ Korobov was probably best remembered for his masonry gostinyi dvor, or arcade of shops, in Red Square. It remained until 1813, at which time its charred shell was in part utilized by Bove for his splendid new bazaar. Mordvinov, perhaps the most promising of this quartet, died in 1734 at the age of thirty-four. Undoubtedly, the best known was Michurin. He is credited with the Trinity Church in the Arbat, the church over the gate of Zlatoustovskii Monastery, the Sinodal'naiia Tipografia Palace, the Church of Paraskeva-Piatnitsa (1739–1744) in Okhomyi Riad, and in Bolotnaia Square (after 1746) a new Cloth Court, replacing the one built there some forty years earlier.¹⁴ During these decades the Petersburg architect Rastrelli also came to Moscow. Besides working at Annen'hof, he completed in 1753 a new Kremlin grand palace on the foundations of the old one of Ivan III.

Contemporaneous with Rastrelli's sojourn in Moscow was the rise of Prince Dmitrii Vasil'evich Ukhomskii.¹⁵ Before 1745, the year that he was named architect, he had served apprenticeships with Michurin and Ko-

⁹ Beletskaiia, "Obraztsyoe" *proekty*, 60. The beginnings of Catherine II's planning activities are described in Sytin, *Istoriia* 2:8; *Istoriia Moskvy* 2:342; and briefly in M. Budylinia, "Planirovka i zastroika Moskv posle pozhara 1812 goda (1813–1818 gg.)," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 1 (1950), hereafter cited as "Planirovka i zastroika." See also V. Shkvarikov, *Ocherk istorii planirovki i zastroiki russkikh gorodov* (Moscow, 1954), 92–93.

¹⁰ Sytin, *Istoriia* 2:8–9.

¹¹ Alexander, "Catherine II," 659.

¹² *Ibid.*, 655.

¹³ Grabar', *Izvestia* 5:152 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 165 ff. and Grabar', *Russkaya arkhitektura*, 256–59.

¹⁵ Cf. especially A. Mikhailov, *Arkhitektory D. V. Ukhomskii i ego shkola* (Moscow, 1954).

robob. By the early 1750s, after the students of Michurin, Korobov, and Ivan Iakovlevich Blank had come under his direction, Ukhomskii became the city's most influential architect and teacher. His first notable venture was the bell tower, begun in 1741, in Trinity-Sergei Monastery at Zagorsk. In Moscow, he projected a four-story tower, some 262 feet high, at the Resurrection Gates of Red Square. Had this been built, it would have closed the plaza and added a significant architectural monument to the entire Kremlin ensemble. Both of these towers by Ukhomskii were notable in that they retained a traditional plan beneath a rococo facade.

Ukhomskii's Moscow monuments frequently had broad city planning implications. This was especially true of his splendidly rococo Red Gates (*Krasnye vorota*), at the intersection of the Miasnitskaia and the Zemlianoi Gorod Wall (1753–1757), and his Kuznetskii Bridge (*most*), built across the Neglinnaia in 1753–1757.¹⁶ Of all his Moscow creations, Ukhomskii's Church of St. Nikita the Martyr (1751) in the Old Basmanaia, beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod, established him as Moscow's premier rococo architect. His most ambitious undertaking, on the other hand, was a massive invalid hospital ensemble to be built overlooking the Moscow River at the Simonov Monastery. But this did not pass beyond the design stage.

Aleksei Evlashev and Ivan Zhrebtsov were Ukhomskii's contemporaries. During the 1750s Evlashev designed and built the three-story bell tower of brick and stone over the main gate of Donskoi Monastery. Zhrebtsov worked at Annen'khof on the construction of the Catherine (or sometimes called Golovin) Palace. His four-story bell tower in the Novospasskii Monastery, begun in 1759 and completed in 1784, was hailed at the time as one of Moscow's important monuments. Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian tiers marked it as clas-

sical despite its traditional cupola and Greek-cross plan. In addition to Zhrebtsov's works, the Church of St. Clement, Roman Pope, in the Piatnitskaia (1750s–1770s), Apraksin House (1766) at the Pokrovskie Gates, and Karl Blank's Church of St. Nicholas "in Zvonari" (1762–1781) and bell tower of the Trinity Church "in Serebrenniki" (1781) were among the most notable accomplishments (and present survivals) of this late rococo era.¹⁷

Creating Instruments for Planning, Building, and Schooling

As Moscow's architects from Michurin to Ukhomskii perfected their craft and artistry and breathed new life into the old city, they also performed a pioneering work in nurturing a bureaucracy for planning, building, and training. Their efforts came to fruition in Catherine's reign when in 1768 the jurisdiction of the Building Commission for St. Petersburg and Moscow was extended to all Russian cities.¹⁸ As the supreme agency for planning and building in Russia, the Commission, as noted above, developed and inspected city plans, supervised building projects of masonry construction, and encouraged uniform design of both towns and private dwellings. The records, perhaps incomplete, showed that of 416 plans considered, the Commission approved 306, mostly after the new administrative division of

¹⁷ Cf. Brunov, *Istoria*, 321–29 and Grabar', *Russkaya arkhitektura*. Recent photographs of these rococo edifices may be found in Mikhail Il'in, et al., *Moscow Monuments of Architecture 18th–the first third of the 19th century*, 2 vols. English and Russian text (Moscow, 1975) 2:31, 32, 43, 44, 47. Hereafter cited as *Monuments*. Volume 2 of this work has outstanding photographs of most of the important eighteenth and early nineteenth century classical edifices in Moscow. The reader is urged to refer to this work.

¹⁸ Catherine II was responsible for the expansion of the Commission to include *Komissia dlia stroenia Peterburga i Moskvy* on 11 December 1762, and later the Commission was charged with supervision of all planning operations in all Russian cities. Cf. Beletskiaia, "Obratovoe" *prokhi*, 60 ff. The Commission endured until 1796, when it was disbanded by the Emperor Paul I.

¹⁶ The Red Gates (*Krasnye vorota*) were only another casualty of the Stalin era. Cf. Palmer, "Restoration of Ancient Monuments in the USSR," *Survey* 74/75 (1970):168.

1775.¹⁹ Town plans, conceived by provincial architects, went to the Commission for modification, approval, or rejection. When unusual problems arose, the Commission created separate departments to resolve them. The rebuilding of Tver in 1763 and the preparation of a plan for Moscow in 1775 required such special attention.

Responsibility for these various functions rested with a Commission which consisted of a director and a staff of architects, their helpers, and some geodesists. The draftsman-architect, Aleksei Vasil'evich Kvasov, became its first director in April, 1763.²⁰ Kvasov died in 1772, and his successor, the prominent architect Ivan Egorovich Starov, remained in charge for only two years. From 1774 until the demise of the Commission, the architect Ivan Lehm headed it. The helpers, recruited from the Academy of Sciences, were students who had finished courses in architectural drafting. The geodesists came from the Engineering Corps and Surveying Office of the Senate. Captain Mikhail Fonvizin, their commander, had collaborated with Kvasov in 1763 in the drafting of plans for both Petersburg and Moscow. City and provincial geodesists and architects joined the regular staff, as needed, to produce plans for Russian cities.

By the mid-1770s, when Moscow's urban planning problems loomed large, a Separate Department (*Otdelennyi*) for Moscow was established to coordinate planning and building under the supervision of Moscow's governor-general. Petr Nikitich Kozhin was named to head the department. Having participated in the construction of St. Isaac's Cathedral (predecessor to Montferrand's) in St. Petersburg, Kozhin had served as a member of the Commission since 1772 and had helped focus attention on the needs of Moscow.

This department, which began to function in mid-June, in turn spawned the *Kamennyi*

Prikaz to implement planning policy for Moscow, oversee production and distribution of building materials, and train architects to cope with the considerable building contemplated. Although notable progress had been achieved in greater diversity, standardization, and production of masonry materials, the need was ever-present for ingenuity. That Kozhin was also appointed director of the *Kamennyi Prikaz* came as no surprise because his expertise in materials procurement was crucial for the Moscow project. Some years earlier he had discovered for St. Petersburg a rich source of stone building materials in the Lake Ladoga and Onega region. In Moscow he soon achieved success manufacturing refractory brick in the state-owned plant which he helped found in Ust-Setunsk.²¹ This factory, intended as a model of efficiency for privately owned ones, greatly facilitated private construction. Kozhin also introduced a machine for kneading clay and standardized the size of bricks produced in all state plants. In the Moscow region, too, Kozhin participated in discovery of new materials, lodes of white and other kinds of stone.

The scarcity of masonry materials was a constant concern for Moscow's architects. While the Ust-Setunsk plant produced only for private construction, state and private factories declined from thirty in Moscow in 1774 to sixteen in 1810; consequently, building needs were not being filled. An edict of 2 June 1808, permitting peasant manufacturers to sell brick in both Moscow and Petersburg, belatedly sanctioned what had probably been a long-standing practice. Muscovites also found new ways to reuse old materials. Brick and stone from the dismantled Belvi Gorod Wall were often used for government buildings like the Foundling Home and the Arsenal; less frequently private home builders also drew upon this source.

Besides procuring materials, the building

¹⁹ Between 1776 and 1788 some 287 plans were approved (Beletskaiia, "Obratnoye" *proekt*, 61).

²⁰ The first members included I. I. Betskii, Z. G. Chernyshev, N. Chicherin, and later A. I. Shuvalov, and P. Zavadovski.

²¹ Besides brick and tile factories a state bank was established to provide credit for private parties engaged in masonry construction.

bureaucracy tried to develop a skilled manpower reserve. The complexity and scope of building required an expertise which early eighteenth-century Russia did not possess. Architects and builders from abroad had offered their services, which were often accepted; but the hope persisted that Russia could and would train her own cadres of skilled architects and technicians. That classicism was eventually mastered by Russians who gave it a peculiarly Russian quality is indicative of the success of these early efforts.

Although Peter I developed no coherent program of formal architectural education, some progress resulted. A distinction evolved between a trained architect and a master builder. This recognition of the architect as a professional, fostered by the presence of foreign artists and a wider reading of such Western architectural classics as Vignola and Palladio, spurred ambitious young Russians to excel in the building arts. Aspirants naturally learned something of both the art and craft by working as helpers, assistants, or apprentices to foreign architects. The more promising of these were, as noted above, packed off to Western Europe to sit before the masters, particularly the Dutch. Upon returning to Russia pensionaries like Ustinov, Mordvinov, Korobov, and Michurin contributed significantly to the training of a new generation of architects.²² In 1731–1741, Korobov, with Petr Mikhailovich Eroikin and Mikhail Grigor'evich Zemtsov, wrote a treatise on architectural education that led to the establishment of an architectural school in the Chancellery of Building in Petersburg.²³

²² Cf. Grabar', *Izvestiya* 5:153–55.

²³ Architectural education in Petersburg during the first half of the eighteenth century was a function of the Chancellery of Building, the major architectural office. Initially foreign architects performed most of the teaching, but later one Mikhail Grigor'evich Zemtsov played a major role in the Chancellery instructional program. In 1723 Peter I had sent him to Stockholm to study Swedish building techniques. By the late 1720s, when foreign architects were no longer invited in great numbers to Russia, Zemtsov not only assumed a prominent role in completing old buildings and planning new ones but attracted students of many foreign architects to him. The architects E. Blank, P. Eroikin, and V. V. Rastrelli all drew upon the talent

Of these "pensionaries," Michurin achieved the greatest fame in architectural education. During the 1730s, in his capacity of inspecting and repairing decayed monastic buildings, he assembled a group of student assistants. Because this venture proved a successful practicum Michurin enlarged and even formalized it. The fire of 1737, in particular, caused such demands on him that he organized the so-called Moscow Architectural Office which rivaled the Chancellery in Petersburg. His students included such architects as Aleksei Petrovich Evlashev, Vasilii Obukhov, Ivan Zherebtsov, and, in particular, Prince Ukhtomskii. For this reason, historian Igor Grabar' regarded Michurin and his "school," which continued through Ukhtomskii to Vasilii Ivanovich Bazhenov and Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov, to be the source of architectural education in Moscow.²⁴

Ukhtomskii, Moscow's leading practitioner in the rococo style, was largely responsible for training Moscow's first generation of classicists, who included both Vasilii Bazhenov (fig. 3a) and Matvei Kazakov (fig. 3b). Ukhtomskii's school, created to impart both theoretical and practical knowledge to prospective young architects, achieved its outstanding success in rebuilding Tver after 1763.²⁵ Reduced to ashes in a single day (12 May 1763), that city became at once a laboratory and model for planning throughout Russia. Four days after the city had burned, Petr Romanovich Nikitin, assistant director of Ukhtomskii's staff and school, was charged to draft a plan for the city and its buildings. Working under Nikitin in this enterprise was Kazakov, whose endeavors in Tver won high praise from Catherine II and led directly to his lifetime assignment to Moscow.

of the Zemtsov cadre in the Chancellery. For more on architectural education in Petersburg, see E. A. Borisova, "Arkhitekturnoe obrazovanie v Kantselarii ot stoletii vo vtoroi chetverti XVIII veka," in *Ezhegodnik Instituta istorii iskusstva* 1960 (Moscow, 1961), 97–131.

²⁴ Grabar', *Izvestiya* 5:155–56; see Grabar', *Russkii arkhitektura*, 369–411, for the works of Evlashev, Obukhov, Zherebtsov, and Ukhtomskii.

²⁵ Mikhailov, *Ukhtomskii*, 243–329.



Figure 3a. Vasili Ivanovich Bazhenov (1737–1799) by an unknown artist (A. V. Bunin, *Istorija gradostroitel'nogo iskusstva*, Moscow, 1953).



Figure 3b. Matvei F. Kazakov (1738–1812) by an unknown artist (E. Beletskaja, *Arkhitekturnye albomy* M. F. Kazakova, Moscow, 1956).

Others of Ukhtomskii's school acquired fame in planning and building Russian cities in the second half of the eighteenth century. Kazan was rebuilt under the supervision of Vasili Kaftyrev, while Aleksandr Filippovich Korkorinov planned cities in Smolensk province. Korkorinov, who himself became a force in architectural education as the first professor of architecture and first rector of the Russian Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, was the son of an architect or draftsman in a Demidov plant in Siberia. Having initially studied architecture under Ivan Blank, Korkorinov moved with Blank's entire staff into the fold of Ukhtomskii after his teacher's death. His stay with Ukhtomskii in this instance was brief, just a month and a half; he then apprenticed under Korobov and joined the staff of Vasili Obukhov before returning once again to the school of Ukhtomskii. Another whose career was indirectly influenced by Ukhtomskii was Vasili Ivanovich Bazhenov, who first affiliated with Ukhtomskii, not as a student, but as a painter for Korkorinov. In such diverse ways did architects learn from one another when architectural education in Russia was on anything but a firm basis.

The founding in 1757 of the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg proved a milestone in the training of artists in Russia. The moving force behind its establishment was Elizabeth's favorite, Count Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov, although it had remained an unfinished project of Peter I. The Academy was finally organized in 1764 when Catherine II replaced Shuvalov with Count Ivan Ivanovich Betskoi. Even before this, however, Shuvalov had seen to the design and construction of the imposing edifice on the Neva by Vallin de la Mothe and Korkorinov.

From the time of its founding, the Academy asserted its leadership in all of the arts. Unlike the French Academy, where the separate arts were taught in various institutions, in Russia all instruction occurred in the single Academy building. Even when students studied abroad, they did so under the auspices of the Academy. The young Bazhenov was one of the

first who did, and he went to the French Academy. The Russian Academy was similar in most ways to its French counterpart. There existed the same three grades of membership—associate, academician, and professor. The absence of public schools in Russia fostered the development of an Academy school, which admitted students as early as their sixth year.

The Academy of Fine Arts in Russia was more than a mere school for artists and to a greater degree than other national academies it was an arbiter of art. S. Frederick Starr has recently observed that

from the time of its foundation down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Academy of Arts exercised direct control over the process of design and execution of every major state-sponsored architectural project in Russia. Special commissions constituted from among its professors monitored the planning of new ensembles in the capital and approved standard building designs for provincial centers. The Academy, in short, was the only union and the Russian state a closed shop. . . . To be sure, its control did not extend to private construction, but until mid-century there was so little free capital for major private construction projects that this limitation meant very little in practice. Also, by virtue of the high visibility of governmental projects, the style in which they were executed was naturally adopted by architects engaged in private practice.²⁶

While the Academy clearly did not exercise the direct influence on Moscow and its architects that it did in Petersburg, its indirect influence was considerable. Above all, it placed art in Russia on a sound academic foundation, which led inevitably to a refinement in architecture throughout the realm.

During the 1770s, when the demand for building expertise exceeded the supply in Moscow, both the Kamennyy Prikaz and Kreu-

lin Departments assumed responsibility for architectural education as well as for building.²⁷ The Kamennyy Prikaz developed a sophisticated program of instruction, operating according to well-defined rules and recruiting both faculty and students. The students ranged in age from nine to sixteen, and, in contrast to those in the aristocratic Ukhomskii school, came from the low rung of society. For that reason, its graduates served most often as architects' apprentices or helpers, rather than as architects.

The Kamennyy Prikaz school provided a stark existence for its pupils. Classes began at six in the morning, sometimes lasting until seven in the evening. The pupils, who by 1780 numbered 33, wore uniforms, answered roll call, and experienced severe discipline for deviating from the rules. Initially, housing consisted of an old residence hall, but in 1778 students acquired their own house in Sverchkov Alley near the Pokrovskie Gates. The students' daily routine was punctuated by occasional variety. Instruction was erratic, judging from the casual attitude of the architect-instructors. Occasionally they shirked their duties and/or misbehaved; fighting and especially drinking were charged against faculty and students alike. The authorities whipped or expelled students for drunkenness and drafted them into the army for forgery and theft.

The instructional staff of the Kamennyy Prikaz consisted principally of the administration. In addition to the energetic and resourceful Kozhin, Nikolai Nikolaevich LeGrand, the principal architect in the Separate Section in 1775, was appointed senior Kamennyy Prikaz architect in January, 1777, and thereafter taught design. Captain Christian Ivanovich Roseberg, who held the post of minor architect in the Kamennyy Prikaz, taught architectural theory. A veteran of army

²⁶ "Russian Art and Society 1800–1850" in Theodanis G. Stavrou, ed., *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), 102–103. Article hereafter cited as "Russian Art."

²⁷ See M. V. Budilina, "Arkhitekturnoe obrazovanie v kamennom prikaze (1775–1782)," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 15 (Moscow, 1963):111–20, hereafter cited as "Arkhitekturnoe obrazovanie."

building projects in Moscow, he had received special commendation in 1769 for rebuilding the Troitskii Bridge over the Neglinnaia to the Kremlin. When Roseberg left the staff in 1778 and LeGrand shortly afterwards, the pupils were forced to rely on apprentices and helpers for instruction. An architect's helper named Krylov taught drawing to both classes of students for eighteen hours each week.

The Kamennyi Prikaz school offered its students some extremely limited opportunities in the theory and practice of architecture. Of the texts on architecture in the library, most were in either French or Latin; other holdings included scientific and educational works. The pupils also engaged in a practicum, that is, learning while working in the field. Both LeGrand and Roseberg, who supervised construction of facades and streets, had several students assigned to them. The practicum, which formally began only in 1780, also involved drafting plans for private homes and working in brick plants at Ust-Setunsk. The names of the Kamennyi Prikaz students have, for the most part, been lost, or there is simply no record of achievement. Some continued their work in the Kremlin Department (*Expeditsiia*). The brothers Ivan and Nikolai Uriupin and Nikolai Petrovich Kuzmin worked under Bazhenov in the Kremlin and on Tsarsynna Palace outside Moscow. After Bazhenov retired, they continued under Kazakov in the Kremlin Department.²⁸

The Kremlin Department, created in 1768 for the purpose of transforming the Kremlin into a classical ensemble, was quite separate from the Commission and its Separate Department. Like the Kamennyi Prikaz, it offered training opportunities, practical and theoretical, for young architects. Elizvoi Semenovich Nazarov wrote in 1773, while still a student, that Bazhenov, the first head of the department, had him prepare "plans and facades, profiles, etc." Making models doubtless consumed these students' time; one may imagine budding young architects working long

hours on Bazhenov's wooden model of a Kremlin Palace.²⁹ Formal instruction usually occurred in a classical model home erected within the Kremlin walls. Although Bazhenov's time for teaching was limited, his friend, F. V. Karzhavin, taught physics, mathematics, history, and architectural theory and translated architectural treatises. Matvei Kazakov, Bazhenov's first assistant, dubbed "vice-architect," was also an instructor.

Ivan Vasil'evich Egotov was an especially prominent alumnus of the Kremlin school.³⁰ After working under Bazhenov and Blank, he aided Kazakov in 1777 in preparing a plan for Kolonna. The following year, having been promoted from apprentice to "architectural assistant, 14th class," he worked in the Kremlin until he joined Kazakov in the new city of Ekaterinoslav.³¹ Both Egotov and Kazakov returned to the Kremlin Department in 1788, Kazakov to take charge, and Egotov as his second. Egotov left it again during the 1790s when there was little activity, but returned in 1801 to direct the Kremlin architectural school. By 1813 and 1814, probably the year he died, Egotov was "director of the draft shop, councillor of state (*statskii sovetnik*), and cavalier."³² His career, one largely associated with the Kremlin Department, exemplifies the progress of a student who climbed to the highest level in his profession and who contributed significantly to classical building and architectural education.

Although Egotov and many others began their schooling under Bazhenov, they discovered in Matvei Kazakov their outstanding mentor.³³ As successor to Bazhenov in the Kremlin enterprise and master practitioner of

²⁸ This model is presently in the Museum of the Academy of Construction and Architecture of the USSR in Donskoi Monastery, Moscow. Cf. M. I. Domslak, *Nazarov* (Moscow, 1956), 5, cf. below p. 38.

²⁹ Cf. A. P. Sedov, *Egotov* (Moscow, 1956), 9.

³¹ Wrote Kazakov: "For the task that I have been charged, I am taking as my assistant Ivan Egotov."

³² Sedov, 18.

³³ See A. I. Vlasuk, A. I. Kaplun, and A. A. Kiparisova, *Kazakov* (Moscow, 1957), 311–12, hereafter cited Vlasuk, *Kazakov*; M. A. Il'in, *Kazakov* (Moscow, 1955), 23–24.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, passim.

Moscow classicism at the end of the century, Kazakov was inevitably involved in architectural education. In reality, he promoted it with marked success. His biographer has recorded that he "regenerated in a new manner the architectural school of Ukhomskii."³¹ P. S. Valuev, who headed the Kremlin Department when Kazakov retired, observed that

the most famous and able architect Kazakov, who gained glory all over Russia by his outstanding knowledge of his art and his creative and practical accomplishment, directed his talent to the architectural school instituted by him, thereby filling not only Moscow but all Russia with good architects.³²

Kazakov's school, which dated from his return to the Kremlin Department in the 1780s, was eventually housed with the draft shop in his house in Zlatoustovskii (now Komol'skii) Alley. His students, who were recruited from literate public school boys, learned arithmetic, geometry, drafting, and drawing in the architectural school.

Kazakov's commitment to architectural education extended also to those in the building trades. In 1792 he even proposed the establishment of another school—one for masons, carpenters, joiners, and locksmiths, who during the winter months would receive instruction in drafting, drawing, and architectural theory. Kazakov observed:

Before this day imported foreigners were assigned to masonry building in our cities at a very great cost. But there are those who, even though calling themselves craftsmen, are completely deficient in these arts. They appear not even to have been trained abroad but to have finished their training here. If they appear well-based in the art, they still know nothing of the quality of our materials or of what our climate can do to most construction, especially brick. Therefore, for very great pay there is very little profit.³³

In 1805 Kazakov's Kremlin School acquired

the official title of Architectural School. Although retired by that time, Kazakov continued teaching and developing curriculum, which eventually consisted of classes in "drawing, mathematics, mechanics, perspective and art (landscape and ornamental), art from plaster figures, civil architecture, and the theory of the Russian language." Connected with the school was Kazakov's draft shop, where the veteran architect had amassed drafts and drawings of

the best buildings and views of all four parts of the globe, the drafts and drawings of all the buildings belonging to the Department, views of the ancient buildings of Moscow, including even those which were not saved and demolished, and also those built by the efforts of the Kremlin Department, as well as models of the better buildings.³⁴

The graduates of Kazakov's school were worthy of their master. They included besides Egotov, Osip Ivanovich Bove and Aleksei Nikitich Bakarev, both of whom participated in the restoration of Moscow after 1812. Kazakov's son wrote:

Loving his art and passionately working on important operations, M. F. Kazakov zealously instructed young architects. He left the Fatherland not a small number of architects sufficiently supplied with instruction and usefully performing their task. Thus, he aided the perfection of architecture in Russia.³⁵

Training programs for architects and artisans such as that initiated by Kazakov in eighteenth-century Russia indicated a realistic approach to broad-based urban planning and building. Although foreign architects dominated the scene, Russians increasingly assumed key roles. The stature of the architects of the Moscow School—Bazhenov, Matvei and Rodion Rodionovich Kazakov, Egotov, Bove, Bakarev, LeGrand, Nazarov, Karl Ivanovich Blank, and Semen Karin—reflected the modest success of both formal and informal in-

³¹ *Ibid.*, Kazakov, 23.

³² Vlasuk, *Kazakov*, 311.

³³ As quoted *ibid.*

³⁴ As quoted *ibid.*, 312.

³⁵ As quoted *ibid.*, 311.

struction during these formative years of classicism in Moscow.

Clearly, Catherine's Moscow of the 1760s, exhibiting a new vitality after long neglect, required renovation. It fell to this group of young architects, trained for the most part in Russia, to replan Moscow and build in its regu-

lated streets and plazas edifices which, paradoxically, both reflected an incipient national feeling and cast Moscow in the mold of similarly refurbished European cities. That classicism became the vehicle for these young Moscow architects to plan a new Moscow is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

Planning Classical Moscow 1762–1812: Plans and More Plans



Creation of a classical city required setting it out geometrically, with precision. If Moscow appeared to defy this orderly process, it was hardly the fault of its planners. They drafted plan after plan in the half-century before 1812. These were of various kinds: some detailed existing conditions; others offered an entirely new design, a goal to be achieved. Some were of little consequence; others made a difference. In all, they left Moscow on the eve of the Great Fire with diverse designs, none of which was entirely fulfilled.

Despite this failure to implement any one design, parts of several did alter the Moscow landscape. What emerged from these plans constituted an incipient classical city, circa 1810. Perhaps more important than any material fulfillment were the thought and inspiration which they stimulated. Thus, when confronted with Moscow's restoration after 1812, her architects drew upon ideas that had been germinating for half a century. The planning of classical Moscow, 1762–1812, for all its apparent shortcomings, marked the beginning of an endeavor which continued into the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century and allowed Moscow to become a classical city of European dimensions.

The Plan of 1775

Although the responsibility for planning lay with the Building Commission for St. Peters-

burg and Moscow as established in 1762, the initial undertaking occurred on 25 July 1763. On that date the Senate directed the architect, Aleksandr Frantsevich Wüst to draft a plan for Moscow and provide a cost estimate of those buildings designated for masonry construction. Both the plan and the estimate were to have been forwarded to the Kamer College, but apparently the plan was never implemented. In response to a Commission directive, one Lt. Petr Ivashév, called quartermaster-general, composed in 1763 an informational plan of Moscow "and the area lying around it for thirty versts." The scale was too small to articulate the streets and especially the buildings within the Zemlianoi Gorod; however, beyond it the numerous settlements, monasteries, and other details were clearly indicated.¹

In 1767 the Commission for Building required the architect Aleksei V. Kvasov "to place on a general plan . . . all the settlements beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod." This work, projected from local survey plans, was never finished.² More meaningful was another plan

¹ Sytn, *Istoriia* 2: 10–14. A *verst* equals .66 miles or 1,067 km. A *sazhen*, or *sághen*, equals about 7 feet. The scale of Ivashév's plan was 3,500 feet (500 *sághens* to the inch). This plan of 1763 evidenced few changes between the Zemlianoi Gorod and Kamer College Wall from Michurin's of 1739; however, it was, as noted, much more detailed for the area beyond the customs barrier. In 1765 what was essentially a copy of Ivashév's plan, but on a still smaller scale, was engraved by the artist-engraver M. I. Makháev. There is no indication that anything came of it either.

² *Ibid.*, 41.

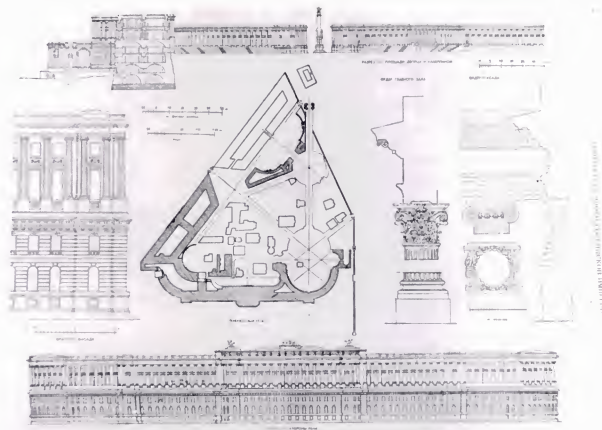


Figure 4. The Great palace in the Moscow Kremlin (planned 1767–1775), architect V. I. Bazhenov (N. I. Brunov, et al., *Istoria russkoi arkhitektury*, Moscow, 1956).

Upper: Profile of palace along embankment and view from square.

Left: Fragment of the facade.

Right: Order of the Great Hall and order of the facade.

Center: General plan.

Lower: Facade from the Moscow River side.

drafted the same year under the supervision of "Engineer-major S. G. Gorikhvostov." This plan was prepared in two variants,³ the first of which designated city walls, streets and alleys, streams, plantings, gardens, and important existing masonry structures but excluded their out-buildings. The second variant, which added existing wooden structures to the plan, denoted land plots within the Zemlianoi Gorod and the outlines of city blocks, streets, alleys, and fields beyond it. Within the Zemlianoi and Belyi Gorods even

specific masonry buildings were designated. Small settlement plots were still represented in the Zemlianoi Gorod, where wooden buildings lined the streets and alleys. Gorikhvostov's preparatory plan, a logical antecedent to any future project plan, was, in effect, the fulfillment of the directive to the architect Wüst four years earlier.

As it turned out, the greatest impetus for a classical Moscow in these years came, not from any of the above plans or planners, but rather from a Kremlin palace project devised by the architect Vasilii Ivanovich Bazhenov (fig. 4). When Catherine became empress in 1762, she indicated her distaste for Rastrelli's and Ukhtomskii's rococo style by turning to the architecture of classicism. For building in St.

³ The complete title of the plan was the "General Plan of the Imperial Capital City of Moscow." For a description of the legend of this plan and a comparison of it with that of 1739 see *ibid.*, 21–37; cf. also *Istoria Moskvy* 2: 344.

Petersburg and environs she most frequently gave commissions to the German Iurii Matveevich Fel'ten, the Italian Antonio Rinaldi, and, eventually, the Scotsman Charles Cameron. But in Moscow it was the Russian Bazhenov who prevailed during the early years of her reign, and he was certainly the most talented of the lot.

For a Russian of that day Vasilii Bazhenov possessed unusual and impeccable credentials. As noted above, he moved from his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg to the Academies in Paris and Rome before returning, not yet thirty, to Russia in 1765. After spending several years in Petersburg, he left for Moscow in 1769, where he spent most of his remaining years giving a Russian

reality to the French Classical and Italian Palladian modes to which he had been exposed. In Moscow transformation of the city's center became his overriding concern; to this end he devised a plan to alter the Kremlin in an unprecedented way (fig. 5).

As early as 1767 Bazhenov, heedless of ancient architectural monuments, proposed converting the medieval Kremlin into a vast classical ensemble, which in its sheer mass would have dominated the city architecturally even more completely than did the old citadel. In boldness and scale Bazhenov's Kremlin was the most inventive planning effort of Catherine's reign. Central to the plan was the enormous palace with auxiliary buildings conforming to the generally triangular shape of

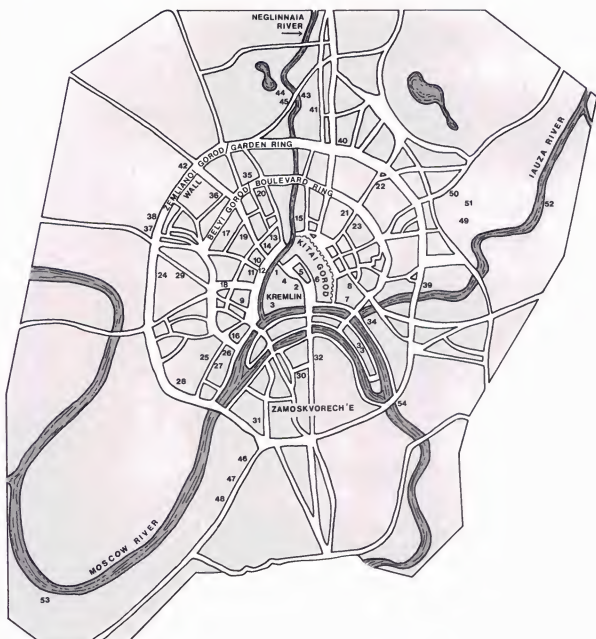
Figure 5. *Moscow at the End of the Eighteenth and Beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries*

Kremlin walls and towers, 1485–1495; Kitai Gorod walls and towers, 1535–1538; Belvi Gorod walls and towers, 1585–1593; Zemlianni Gorod walls, late sixteenth century. 1. Arsenal (Ivanov), 1702–1736. 2. Senate, now Supreme Soviet Building (Kazakov), 1776–1787. 3. Great Kremlin Palaces (Rastrelli), finished 1753; projected by Bazhenov, 1767–1775; projected by Kazakov, 1797; projected by L'vov, 1797; undertaken by Stasov in 1816 and Tiurin in 1822. 4. Nikol'skie Gates (Rossi restoration), 1817–1818. 5. Commercial Rows (restored by Bove), 1814–1815. 6. Gostinnyi Dvor (Quarengli and Kazakov [?]), 1790–1805. 7. Foundling Home (K. Blank), 1764–1770. 8. Adoption Council, or Opekunskii Soviet (D. I. Giliardi), 1823–1826. 9. Pashkov House, now part of Lenin Library (Bazhenov), 1784–1786. 10. Old Moscow University (Kazakov), 1786–1793; restored (D. I. Giliardi), 1817–1819. 11. The Manezh, or Manège (Bethencourt), 1817; decoration 1824–1825 (Bove). 12. Aleksandrovskii Garden, built over the encased Neglinnaia River and on the site of Peter's Bastions (Bove), 1821–1822 or 1823. 13. Site of Petrovskii or Maddox's Theater and after 1812 Theater Square. The Bolshoi Theater (A. A. Mikhailov and Bove), 1821–1825; rebuilt (Kavos), 1851–1856. The Malvi Theater, 1821–1840. 14. Dolgorukov House, later Nobles Meeting House, 1780s; Hall of Columns within (Kazakov), 1784–1786. 15. Kuznetskii Most, or Bridge (Ukhomskii), 1753–1757. 16. Temple of Christ the Savior or Redeemer (Ton), 1838–1880. 17. Ensemble of houses on Tverskoi Boulevard, 1790s and early 19th century; Lumin House (D. I. Giliardi), 1818–1823 at Nikitskie Gates. 18. Talzin House, presently Museum of Russian Architecture, 1787 (Kazakov School) and restored 1816; and Sheremetev, or Razumovskii House (Bazhenov?), 1780 on Vozdvizhenka (Kalinin Prospekt). 19. Tverskoi or Chernyshevskii House (Kazakov), 1782–1784. Rebuilt in 1940s; now Moscow, or City Hall 20. Gubin House (Kazakov), presently Institute of Physical Therapy, 1790s. 21. Iushkov House on the Miasnitskaia (Bazhenov), 1780s–1790s. 22. Baryshnikov (Kazakov), 1797–1802, and Lobanov-Rostovskii House, 1790, on the Miasnitskaia. 23. Church of the Archangel Gabriel, or Menshikov Tower (Zarudnyi), 1705–1707. Zemlianoi walls and towers, 1591–1592. 24. Gagarin House on Novinskii (Bove), 1817. 25. Seleznev (Khrushchev) House, now Pushkin Museum (Grigor'ev), 1814 or 1820, on

the Prechistenka. 26. Dolgorukov House (Kazakov), 1780s, on the Prechistenka. 27. Lopukhin (Stamitskaia) House (Grigor'ev), now Tolstoi Museum, 1817–1822, on the Prechistenka. 28. Provision Warehouses (Stasov), 1832–1835. 29. Gagarin House on the Povarskaia, now Gorkii Museum of World Literature (D. I. Giliardi), 1820s. 30. Church of All Sorrows (*Vsiekh Sorrowbushchiki*), 1790s (Bazhenov); altered, 1828–1833 (Bove). Dolgov House, late 18th century (Bazhenov); restored, 1817 (Bove). 31. Church of St. Ivan or John the Warrior, 1709–1713. 32. Church of St. Clement (Evlashchev), 1740s–1770s. 33. Military Commissariat (Le Grand), 1778–1779. 34. Batashov House (R. R. Kazakov and M. Kisel'nikov), 1798–1802, and nearby Tutolmin House (Starov?), 35. Gagarin House or Catherine Hospital at the Petrovskie Gates (Kazakov), 1786–1790; restored (Bove), 1820s. 36. Razumovskii House or English Club, 1780; reconstructed after 1812 (Menelas). 37. Widows' Home, 1812–1823. 38. Volkonskii or Protkov House (Bove), 1809. 39. Usachev House, now "Vsvokie gory" Sanitarium (D. I. Giliardi and Grigor'ev), 1829–1831. 40. The Sheremetev Hospital or Indigents' Home, now Sklifosvskii Institute (Nazarov and Quarengli), 1794–1807. 41. Church of Philip the Metropolitan (Kazakov), 1777–1788. 42. Triumphal Gates (Bove), 1827–1834, dismantled and subsequently (1968) moved to southwest Moscow. 43. Catherine Institute, now Soviet Army Building (altered by I. and D. Giliardi), 1802–1818. 44. Aleksandrovskii, now Tuberculosis Institute (A. A. Mikhailov or I. Giliardi), 1807 or 1809–1811. 45. Marinskii (now Dostoevskii) Hospital (Mikhailov or I. Giliardi), 1803–1805. 46. First City (*Grodskana*) Hospital (Bove), 1828–1833. 47. Golitsyn Hospital (Kazakov), 1796–1801. 48. Nesukhnoe Estate, c. 1756; restored (Tiurin), 1830s. 49. Razumovskii House in Gorokhovoe Field, later Institute of Physical Culture (Menelas), 1801–1803; restored (A. G. Grigor'ev), 1842. 50. Demidov House with "Golden Rooms" (Kazakov), 1789–1791, in Gorokhovskii Lane. 51. Ascension (*Voznesenie*) Church (Kazakov), 1790–93. 52. Lefortov ensemble: Annengorskii Palace (Rastrelli), 1730–31; the Military Hospital (Egorov), 1798–1802; the Catherine, or Golosin Palace (Quarengli), 1773–1796; Lefortov, or Petrovskii, Palace (Aksamitov), 1697–98; (Kazakov), 1775–1782; and *Slobodskii* Palace (Kazakov), 1788–1789, in Leforov. 53. Viaz'berg's projected monument to the fallen of 1812, 1817. 54. Znamenska Church (Nazarov), 1791–1795, Novospasskii Monastery.

MOSCOW

Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries



the fortress. Its long (more than 2,100 feet) four-story Moscow River facade was to have been linked to the water by majestic staircases and terraces.⁴ Instead of soaring, this new monolithic palace would have created a horizontal Kremlin, one which could consort stylistically with the Foundling Home in Vasil'evskii Meadow down the river.

The Kremlin palace from Zamoskvorech'e was intended to provide a dramatic river prospect: its four-story front facade, the two lower rusticated and the two upper encased by huge Corinthian columns, designed to contrast with Doric and Ionic facades on the other two sides. The edifice itself was conceived to provide the most lavish accommodations for royalty: salons, picture galleries, a theater, and living quarters. From its inner approach, the palace was projected as a mass of columns, the fullest realization of Bazhenov's aspiration to make it "a hymn to the column."⁵ An elegant oval plaza was to be before the palace entrance with three streets—the arteries from Petersburg (Tverskaia), Iaroslavl (Vozdvizhenka), and Vladimir (Il'inka)—converging upon it. These three radiating streets were projected as the architectural axis for the city and, symbolically, the basis for subordinating both city and country to the Kremlin.⁶

Bazhenov envisioned the oval court before the palace for public celebrations and therefore designed it in monumental proportions. For its center he planned a triumphal column and an equestrian statue of trumpeting glory. Elsewhere in this great square he proposed other buildings of equal height. Their protruding ground floors were to have been utilized as a stepped podium when great

crowds gathered in the plaza on national holidays. The architect intended to place beyond this platform the most impressive structure of the entire ensemble, a colossal colonnade enclosing the entire court. Beside the main oval court Bazhenov planned several lesser ones, each as an ensemble linked by splendid colonnaded entrance ways. Edward Clarke believed that "had the work been completed, no edifice could ever have been compared to it. It would have surpassed the Temple of Solomon, the Propylaeum of Amasis, the Villa of Adrian, or the Forum of Trajan."⁷

Bazhenov's Kremlin project went beyond planning a palace. The congested and disordered construction in both the Zamoskvorech'e and Belyi Gorod marsh land near the Kremlin walls prompted him in early 1770 to draft plans for regulating that stretch. He proposed canals on the Moscow River to reduce flooding and a bridge on the main axis of his palace. Eventually, he hoped to transform the old bed of the river into a canal as well as straighten and reinforce the river banks with stone.

Despite extensive and, at times, feverish preparations, a classical Kremlin palace was never built. Clearing the expanse had begun as early as 1769, but actual construction never progressed beyond the solemn ceremony of laying the palace cornerstone in 1773. By 1775 the entire project was abandoned by the empress, who evidently had lost interest. Even the razed portions of the citadel walls were rebuilt. The reasons for discontinuing the operation are obscure. The estimated cost was admittedly exorbitant, but initially the proposed expenditure had been used to dramatize the resources of the Russian Empire as it pursued its war against the Turks. Perhaps the successful conclusion to that conflict in 1774 convinced Catherine that she had nothing more to prove. Officially, it was reasoned that the Kremlin hill simply could not support such a huge ensemble.

⁴ The main section of the palace was to have covered 11.12 acres, or an area of 1.5 million cubic meters. This was twice the area covered by Zakharov's Admiralty Building in St. Petersburg and four times its cubic capacity. A wooden model of Bazhenov's classical Kremlin edifice may be seen in the Architectural Museum in Donskoi Monastery.

⁵ Arthur Voyce, *The Moscow Kremlin, Its History, Architecture, and Art Treasures* (Berkeley, Calif., 1954), 60–61.

⁶ Despite this extensive transformation of the Kremlin, the cathedrals in it were slated to be preserved. The arterial streets mentioned are now Gorkii, Kalinin, and Kuibyshev Streets respectively.

⁷ *Travels*, 32.

Real progress in altering Moscow was minimal during the 1760s, despite the prospects early in that decade. By 1770 the Commission had only two variants of the plan of 1767, nothing more. At that time natural forces accomplished what human beings could or would not: the plague infested Moscow in the autumn of 1771, and fires destroyed large sections of the city in 1773. Both catastrophes served to counteract bureaucratic inertia.

The plague was a calamity of the first magnitude, for Moscow lost perhaps a quarter, nearly sixty thousand, of her inhabitants. Catherine, ever scornful of the city and easily convinced that overcrowded and filthy conditions caused the epidemic, determined to rectify the matter. The authorities systematically destroyed some three thousand wooden houses, but in Catherine's mind the big textile factories with their unsanitary working conditions and masses of bonded laborers were the culprits.⁸ At least, a secret memorandum by Catherine dated 4 September 1771, suggested as much. In this document, she demanded of the Senate "that all big factories be removed from the city of Moscow and not a single one left except for handiwork in homes."⁹ In an earlier statement, entitled *Réflexions sur Pétersbourg et sur Moscou*, the empress stated similar arguments against industry in Moscow. Her portrayal of Moscow as "a seat of sloth," her criticism of its excessive size, and her diatribes against its various social classes reveal the consternation the city caused her, especially during the plague riots of 15–17 September.¹⁰ Although Catherine failed to remove the big textile factories from the city, they were so debilitated by the plague that they could not continue on the same scale as they had before 1771.¹¹ So the plague of 1771

spurred her, as little else could, to do something about her unruly and ungainly city.

The plague was followed by fires. The first of these occurred on 22 June 1773, south and southeast of the Zemlianoi Gorod Walls in the Kozhevnik and Taganka areas beyond the Moscow and Iauza Rivers. The second, in mid-July, engulfed the Tverskaia. The resourceful governor-general of Moscow, Prince M. N. Volkonskii (1771–1780), reacted swiftly by submitting proposals for preventing recurrence of such disasters.¹² He made the now familiar recommendation that future Belyi Gorod construction be masonry, including tile roofs, and that those Zemlianoi Gorod wooden buildings standing on stone foundations also be roofed with tile. Noting the limited number of tile and brick factories, he urged that the government build more and enlarge those already existing. Prices, as set by the government, could permit purchase of bricks and tile directly from such factories. He preferred tile roofs to metal, because overheated metal often ignited wooden roof beams. Volkonskii also promised Catherine that he would submit plans for restoring the burned areas.

The first of these was entitled, "Plan Composed at the Moscow Police Station of the Holy Churches, Shops, etc. and the Second Part of the Belyi Gorod, Burned Down on the 14th of July of this Year, 1773." This plan, drawn on 31 July 1773, by an architect named P. Bortnikov, encompassed portions of the Tverskaia and Great Dmitrovka within the Belyi Gorod. Although the draft revealed no rerouted alleys, the arterial and lesser streets, except dead-end ones, were widened and straightened, even severing masonry buildings in their new paths.

A second proposal, "The Plan at the Moscow Police Station of all the Churches, Public Buildings, etc., Burned Down on the 14th of July of this Year, 1773, in the Sixth Part of the Zemlianoi Gorod," focused on the entire

⁸ In 1775 there were, reputedly, in Moscow 8,878 houses compared to 12,538 in 1770. The sharpest drop, about 40 percent, was outside the Zemlianoi Gorod where many of the poorest homes were located. (*Istoriia Moskvy* 2: 344. See Alexander, "Catherine II").

⁹ Quoted from Alexander, "Catherine II," 637.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 659.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 661 ff.

¹² Sytin, *Istoriia* 2: 495.

Zemlianoi Gorod region west of the Petrovka-Karetnyi Riad. In this plan, all projected alleys and streets were represented, and the Tverskaia and Little Dmitrovka emerged widened and straightened. A number of ponds and vacant lots were included within the blocks.

Still another draft, the "Plan Composed at the Moscow Police Station of all the Churches, Public Buildings, etc., in the Fifth Part, beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod Burned Down the 14th of July of this Year, 1773," centered on the Zemlianoi Gorod at the Tverskie Gates. The many streets and alleys, which had in former days served the Tverskaia-lamskaia (Coachmen's) Settlement, were, with the exception of Great Tverskaia-lamskaia Street (now Gorkii), altered or replaced with new thoroughfares. There was, of course, no square at the Zemlianoi Gorod Wall (present-day Maiakovskaia Square), only large lots; and beyond these lay the lamskoe Field. The reasons for the complete replanning of the Tverskaia-lamskaia Settlement were contained in the report to Catherine II by the Commission for the Building of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Dated 8 October 1773, this document revealed how the fires in 1773 had devastated the Tverskaia Coachmen's Settlement, causing severe property losses. Because the fires had spread rapidly through the crowded wooden hovels, the Commission replanned the settlement with more space between buildings. The proposal called for the building of 116 masonry houses instead of wooden ones.

A fourth proposal, the "Plan of the Buildings Burned on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of June of this Year of 1773 in the Twelfth Part, Beyond the Moscow River in the Kozhevniki Composed on June 23rd, 1773," projected straightened and widened streets and alleys and even two new alleys. No complete plan has survived for the burned-out Taganka, but three partial ones do exist. One, in referring to houses that burned, designated "two-story masonry shops with arches and columns before them," to replace those "to the east and south of the burned church of St. Nicholas on the Bolvanovka in the Zemlianoi Gorod."

Another plan projected meat, fish, bread and flour shops on the site of the future Taganskaia Square, where government-employed masons then resided. These plans were drawn and signed by Bortnikov, who also drafted facade plans for wooden and masonry houses of one, one and a half, and two stories with half floors, all of which were intended for vacant lots in the Taganka in 1773.¹³

Upon receiving these plans for restoring the Taganka and Tverskaia, Catherine reaffirmed her intention (4 September 1773) to create an entire masonry "city" as well as to establish state-owned brick and tile factories and a bank to extend credit for private construction. On 2 December, she approved Volkonskii's report of the fires and his plans, thus forcing the Commission for the first time to give priority to Moscow's needs over those of St. Petersburg.¹⁴

Because of this new orientation, some of the Commission's membership had to be transferred to Moscow. A Commission report, approved by Catherine II on 14 March 1774, recommended, as noted above, creation of a Separate Department (the *Otdelennyi*) to attend to that city. Headed by Petr Kozhin, it began functioning on 16 June 1774; by April of the next year the Department had prepared (1) a project plan for Moscow (fig. 6); (2) a scheme for increasing production of building materials; and (3) a proposal for a Kamennyi Prikaz to implement the plan and oversee production and distribution of building materials.¹⁵ These proposals were submitted to the empress who by 7 July approved all of them.

The general plan of 1775, the most important one produced for Moscow in the late eighteenth century, became a model for those

¹³ See Sytin, *Istoriia* 2: 58–63.

¹⁴ The planning developments at this stage are described in several places: Grabar', *Iskustva* 6: 250; Budylna, "Planirovka i zastroyka," 135; *Istoriia Moskvy* 2: 346; Sytin, *Istoriia* 2: 66 ff., 481–83, 497–504; S. A. Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy 1775 goda i ego gradostoitel'noe znachenie," *Eshergodnik Instituta Istoriia Iskusstva* 1960 (Moscow, 1961), 55.

¹⁵ The Separate Department (*Otdelennyi*) continued to function so long as did the Commission; both were dissolved by the Emperor Paul on 21 December 1796. (*Ibid.*, p. 88).

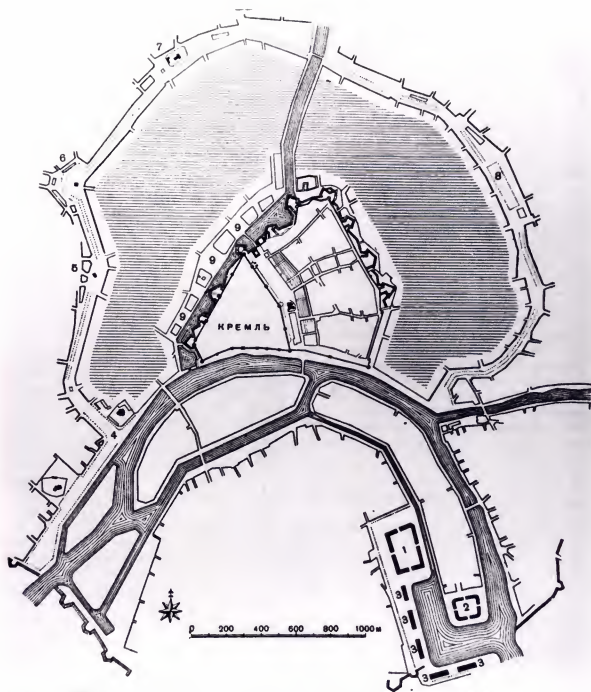


Figure 6. Projected changes in the central district of Moscow, according to the plan of 1775. Details (Bunin, *Istoria gradostroitel'nogo iskustva*). . . . 1 and 2-Gostinye dvory of the grain market; 3-Warehouses; 4-Southwestern end of Boulevard Ring (on the site of the demolished walls of Belyi Gorod); 5-

Arbatskaia Plaza; 6-Plaza at the Nikitskie Gates; 7-Plaza at the Strastnoi Monastery; 8-Plaza at the Pokrovskie Gates; 9-North to south: the projected Okhotnyi Riad, Moisevskaia, and Mokhovaya Plazas on the banks of the Neglinnaia.

working to create a classical city. Kozhin and his architect LeGrand played the key role in adapting the plan to Moscow realities, but this grand design probably was a collective effort of that enterprising Moscow coterie of Blank, Kazakov, and Bazhenov rather than of the anonymous members of the Separate Department.¹⁶ Based on that of Gorikhvostov (1767), this plan divided Moscow into the "city" of the Belyi Gorod, the "suburbs" of the Zemlianoi Gorod, and "outlying lands" within the Kamer College Wall.¹⁷ In this way, the design left intact the historic radial-ring pattern and the limits of Moscow but permitted revamping the "city," notably with elegant plazas and public buildings.

Significantly, the men responsible for the plan of 1775 were determined to disassociate it from any new Kremlin venture:

Moscow has as a center the town *Krem'l*, and construction within it . . . has been placed upon the Department of the Kremlin Palace and did not enter into the inspection of the Commission.

These planners sought, specifically, an enlargement and architectural enrichment of the city center exclusive of the Kremlin and increase in the scale of building in its central district, the main thoroughways, and squares.¹⁸

In the Kitai Gorod, where the plan called for three squares, Red Square was to be left unchanged and the Il'inskaia simply widened. Alongside St. Basil's, however, a new square was planned. For the Belyi Gorod, the planners proposed a chain of plazas embracing in semicircular fashion the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod. This ring, with the Moscow River as

both its origin and termination, was etched in space cleared of ancient defenses and congested wooden structures. The squares were designed to reduce the hazard of fire and accent their classical edifices, which would become part of the greater Kremlin ensemble.

The planners also sought to improve the Neglinnaia, a shallow and filthy mudhole which served mainly as a refuse dump, in order to enhance the appearance of these central squares and make it an integral part of the urban composition. They proposed not only to pump more water into the river but to widen and deepen its bed, straighten its banks, and line its quays with trees in order to bring it into harmony with the central plazas.¹⁹

In addition to well-ordered squares ringing the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod and a straightened and scoured Neglinnaia, the 1775 plan called for another ring in the Belyi Gorod, at the site of old ramparts. The Commission proposed linking new plazas at the gates with a tree-lined, concentric Boulevard Ring, on which splendid classical edifices would be erected. These distinctly administrative plazas would be supplemented by two new commercial ones in Zamoskvorech'e, on the Moscow River for the city's grain market. The plan seemingly overlooked nothing, specifying for these commercial plazas good port facilities, granaries, merchants' stalls, even trees and shrubbery.

The planners of 1775 also addressed the problem of Moscow River flooding. To improve drainage of the river's right bank, opposite the Kremlin, Kitai Gorod, and Foundling Home, they proposed a drainage canal system from the Great Stone Bridge to the Krymskii Ford, to be separated from the main channel of the Moscow River by two islands. As with the Neglinnaia the planners would level the banks, reinforcing them with stone,

¹⁶ Bazhenov's conception of the Kremlin palace coincided with the formative period of the general plan of 1775. That it and subsequent plans for the city incorporated such Bazhenov ideas as a system of canals for the Moscow River, a Neglinnyi Canal, and other elements giving order to the city center comes therefore as no surprise.

¹⁷ This concept of a masonry "city," a mixed wood-masonry "suburb," and wooden "outskirts" represented Catherine II's more than Kozhin's ideas for town planning. (Cf. Svtin, *Istoriia* 2: 481).

¹⁸ Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 56.

¹⁹ This "new" Neglinnaia was projected for a deepened moat alongside the bastions of Peter I; however, the northern course of the river was abandoned in 1777. (Cf. Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 61–62, 82).

and eventually laying out tree-lined thoroughfares on these embankments. The right bank, once drained, was to have been divided into regular city blocks, accommodating attractive buildings (fig. 7).

That the plan of 1775 portended a classical city did not preclude its blending the new with the old. Indeed, there was no escaping the historic "city" and its topography. Concentric boulevards and passages were clearly drawn for both aesthetic and utilitarian reasons; so, too, were the waterways. The planners intended that Kitai Gorod and Kremlin plazas would bring to the "city" a spaciousness to enhance its beauty as well as to deter fire. They based their spatial organization on the ensemble, distinguished by the singular character of its architecture. Individual ensemble facades, extending forward to measured limits, were related in scale and proportion to those of the square or street as a whole. The planners differentiated important administrative or public buildings from lesser edifices by monumental scale and magnificence. Such great structures, their expressive facades punctuated by gigantic porticoes and capped with flat cupolas and belvederes, demanded that grand perspective which classical planning promised.

Whatever its aesthetic and practical merit, the plan of 1775 possessed obvious shortcomings. It emphasized excessively the administrative center and the highways leading to it, and too little the suburbs and outskirts. Such a formula seemed destined to exacerbate the differences between these divisions of the city. Locating important governmental and economic operations on these "city" plazas would, in effect, have removed them from most of the population. Proponents of the plan, who claimed that it would make Moscow fire-proof, also had to face the reality that the masonry "city" would contain only 13 percent of Moscow's houses.²⁰ The crush of frame structures

beyond the city center would continue the fire hazard there. Moscow, unlike St. Petersburg, had constantly to contend with her past.

There were other obstacles to the fulfillment of this plan: the wealthy opposed encroachment upon their property rights; the dispossessed bemoaned their difficulties in locating new housing. As various segments of the populace, the church, and local authorities joined to contravene the plan, mansions of the rich continued to rise in the midst of wooden hovels, while prescribed street and alley widths were ignored.

Meanwhile, the Kamennyi Prikaz, responsible for implementing the plan, had been empowered to supervise building, procure materials, and recruit skilled workmen, qualified engineers, and architects. Under Kozhin, this agency seemed destined to play a decisive role in Moscow's future. In reality, it lasted only eight trying years. From the outset, a shortage of funds restricted its distribution of building materials: after the first year most of its funds were exhausted. Half of the brick and tile produced in the Ust-Setunsk factory, moreover, went for state rather than private use. City officials, for reasons noted above, impeded the agency, seeking to divest it of its supervisory functions and eventually stripping it of its jurisdiction over Kremlin, palace, church, and state construction.

Any one of these obstacles might have been overcome had Kozhin received proper backing, but from the beginning he had to contend with the College headed by the Governor-general Volkonskii, the reputed defender of vested interests in the city.²¹ With its resources diminished and authority challenged, the Kamennyi Prikaz had few supporters. It only remained for the empress to lose interest. When she did, the agency's opponents had no difficulty in convincing her to abolish it. Dissolution of the Kamennyi Prikaz in 1782

²⁰ The "city" contained 1,116 of the 8,878 homes of Moscow; therefore, the Kamennyi Prikaz was severely limited in its ability to alter the appearance of Moscow.

²¹ Because the governor and the police permitted evasion of planning rules set forth in 1775 and administered by the Kamennyi Prikaz, the latter in reality had lost its authority long before it was officially abolished. (Cf. Sytin, *Istoriia* 2: 95-97, 483; Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 92).



Figure 7. Kremlin Embankment at the end of the eighteenth century (Donskoi, V-13527). Prints labeled "Donskoi" are from

the . . . A. V. Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Photo Archive, Donskoi Monastery.

struck a severe blow to coherent planning in Moscow and consequently delayed the emergence of a classical city.

The Kamennyi Prikaz had issued two reports, which revealed the extent of its activities. The first, dated 22 August 1776, accounted for its work in ordering the rivers and setting limits on estates in order to regulate city blocks. This latter kind of activity naturally brought the bureau into conflict with vested interests. Kozhin's second report—which outlined such projects as regulating the Neglinnaia, leveling Peter's bastions, laying out new streets and plazas in their places, erecting a new Gostinyi Dvor in the Kitai Gorod, planning a canal to the south of Moscow between the Andreevskii Ravine and the Danilov Monastery to reduce flooding, and building brick and tile factories—was ignored completely, although many of these goals were realized at a later time.

The planning of Moscow was sporadic after 1775. The plan of 1775, which served as a model for just over a decade, was subjected to important modifications by 1786. These changes occurred after the abolition of the Kamennyi Prikaz, when successive governors of the city with Catherine's acquiescence began nibbling away at the original plan.

Z. G. Chernyshev (1782–1784) did so when he permitted the erection of a commercial building along the Neglinnaia River, a flat contradiction of a clause in the plan. The governor's ruling that land between the Serpukhovskie Gates (now Dobryninskaia Square) and the Arsen'evskii Alley beyond the Kamer College Wall be partitioned into blocks also violated a stipulation which required approval of the Senate for use of land in such a manner. Chernyshev's successor, Ia. A. Brius (1784–1786), carried revision a bit further. On 3 February 1786, he passed on to Catherine recommendations to reduce the number of squares to fourteen, most of which had already existed or could easily be created from vacant areas or in thinly populated sectors of the city. He urged utilization of the open stretches of the dismantled Belyi Gorod Wall and existing space in the Zemlianoi and Kitai

Gorod, thereby avoiding the demolition of residential buildings. Brius retained in the revised plan the three public squares in Kitai Gorod, but projected Red Square around the Execution Place rather than around St. Basil's. Before the Gostinyi Dvor (near the present site of Old and New Squares), along the Kitai Gorod Wall from the Nikol'skie Gates to the Moscow River, Brius proposed small markets. He designated another plaza by the Trinity Monastery within the Kremlin, opposite Trinity Gates. In the Belyi Gorod he proposed three squares—at the Tverskie Gates, in the Mokhovaia, and one from the Okhotnyi Riad to Moiseevskaia Almshouse; in Zamoskvo-rech'e, he designated the Bolotnaia and Polianskaia Squares. At the Zemlianoi Gorod Wall, he proposed plazas (1) at the Serpukhovskie and Kaluzhskie Gates, (2) at the Red Gates, and (3) at the triumphal arch in the Tverskaia. Brius also pleaded for deletion of the proposed concentric boulevard in the Belyi Gorod, urging instead that the space be paved and used for market places. Catherine gave her "supreme approval" to Brius's proposals on 27 March 1786.

The area which received especial scrutiny both in 1786 and 1790 was that of the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod. The 1775 plan had recognized the need for rejuvenating the Neglinnaia along the Kremlin's west wall and eliminating the clutter of wooden houses along its banks. The solution had been the ordering of the river and the building of a chain of three central squares. The 1786 variant proceeded in this direction but with minimal progress.

It projected these plazas (Okhotnyi Riad, Moiseevskaia, and Mokhovaia) from the far reaches of the Okhotnyi Riad (approximately the center of Sverdlov Square) in the north to Trinity Bridge in the south. Realizing them was another matter. Not only did the melange of deteriorating shops and stalls remain, but additional commercial building in the vicinity of the Resurrection Bridge had been permitted by the then governor Count Chernyshev. This spilled over into what is presently Revolution Square and the northern edge of the Okhotnyi Riad. Subsequently, the new blocks

and streets, laid out to continue the radial ones, were oriented toward this illegal construction.

Because both the old and this illegitimate new building stalled implementation of the 1775 plan, architect Fedor Kirillovich Sokolov, at the urging of Governor Brius, concentrated in 1786 on the central squares and river. He proposed increasing the length of the proposed Okhotnyi Riad Square to 1,456 feet, thereby extending it from the center of today's Sverdlov Square to the site of the former Moisevskaiia Almshouse, presently that part of Manezh Square opposite the Hotel National. The width of 175 feet (25 *sâgènes*) he retained. The Mokhovaia he projected in dimensions of 1,120 × 210 feet (160 × 30 *sâgènes*), subsequently reduced by Kazakov. Sokolov proposed using the plots of land on the new blocks (*kvartaly*) oriented toward the illegal structures for private construction and intended a single classical facade for both old and new commercial riady facing the Neglinnaia. This facade would at once have obscured the disorderly array behind it and decorated and dignified the quay; its classical motif, moreover, would also have complemented the Kremlin ensemble. For his second task, that of ordering the Neglinnaia, Sokolov proposed a system of precision-contoured basins (four oval and one rectangular) of various sizes, joined by open canals. Although Sokolov's recommendations, for reasons left unexplained, were not implemented, they, at least, were not discarded. In fact, Kazakov drew on them just a few years later when he sought to resolve the same Neglinnaia dilemma.²²

The northeastern limits of the Kitai Gorod also figured in these revisions. Whereas the plan of 1775 had designated squares and city blocks there and a Neglinnaia canal alongside the bastions down to the Moscow River, the canal had been deleted in 1777. Only a square "from the Nikol'skie Gates to the Moscow

River" was reaffirmed in the variant of 1786.

In the last decade of Catherine's reign several additional plans for the Neglinnaia appeared. The first successor to the one of 1775, discounting the variants, was drawn in 1789 by the "architectural assistant first class Lieutenant Ivan Marchenkov." Appearing just fifty years after the first geodesic plan of 1739, his draft in an illuminating manner represented both the projections from the plan of 1775 and the streets, alleys, and rivers as they existed in 1789. Marchenkov attempted, moreover, to account for all construction during the intervening fourteen years. He focused on Moscow within the Kamer College Rampart, although he also included certain areas beyond it. Between the Kamer College and Zemlianoi Gorod Walls, Marchenkov identified only significant buildings located on important streets and left the remaining area in vegetable gardens, fields, and vacant space. He recorded both the Neglinnyi Canal and Mytishchinskii Aqueduct as being under construction. Although he depicted Moscow River locations, the Vodootvodnyi Canal appeared as projected in 1775 rather than as completed. Concentric boulevards, projected in 1775 but nearly eliminated by Brius in 1786, appeared as planned. Parts of the Zemlianoi Gorod (Zaiauz'e and Zamoskvorech'e up to the Krymskii Bridge) retained their earthen bastions. The Boulevard Ring, articulated by two rows of trees, embraced the center of the city from the Moscow River to the Iauzskie Gates. Not surprisingly, Marchenkov also revealed in his plan significantly more masonry buildings in the Belyi Gorod than in the Zemlianoi Gorod; those in the latter were virtually all churches. Peter's earthen bastions and moats along the walls of the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod were still there. Rectangular forms projected as public buildings in 1775, but never built and subsequently deleted in 1786, reappeared both along Mokhovaia Street's northern edge and in the Okhotnyi Riad.

Two additional plans followed Marchenkov's. The first, quite inferior to his, was completed in the Survey Office and signed by

²² Grabar', *Izvestiia* 6: 258; Budvlina, "Planirovka i zastroika," 136–37; Zombé, "Proekt plana Moskv," 67–87.

one Kazmin in 1790. Apparently derived from a survey begun in 1786, this "Plan of Moscow of the XVII and XVIII Centuries" depicted the outskirts of Moscow within 4 versts (about 2.7 miles) of the Zemlianoi Gorod wall. That it recorded land ownership was probably the purpose of its release.²³

Another plan of 1790 stemmed from the activities of Prince A. A. Prozorovskii, who in July, 1790, became governor of the city. Impressed that vested property interests had virtually immobilized renovation of the city, he responded quickly to the devastation caused by a fire which had swept the Neglinnaia in 1790.

In a report to Catherine, Prozorovskii requested an updated plan to determine property holdings; that is, all existing houses, names of owners, and dates of construction. While the fire on the Neglinnaia had eliminated much of the congested construction there, a clear designation of property limits was critical for planning and new building.²⁴ In addition to his report, Prozorovskii submitted to Catherine II three plans of the Neglinnyi region from the Kuznetskii Bridge to its estuary. The first two were copies of the plan of 1775 and its 1786 variant; the third identified structures existing in 1790 with their construction dates and proper locations on the landplots. Although this last plan fell short of the governor's need for a complete and exact plan for the entire city, St. Petersburg did respond.²⁵

A special planning group established under the Commission for the Building of St. Petersburg and Moscow was directed to prepare an addendum to the plans of 1775 and 1786, or the kind of draft requested by Prozorovskii.²⁶ Despite the comprehensive view taken

by this planning body and Kazakov's plan for the Neglinnaia and what was to become Theater Square, this group's work was disappointing.²⁷ Any account of the burned out Neglinnaia after 1790 inevitably built upon Sokolov's efforts of 1786. A 1790 draft, probably that of Kazakov, plotted buildings, blocks, plazas, canals, and basins in a similar but more artistic and detailed manner than Sokolov had four years earlier. The basins were redrawn and the canals joining them given a new direction on the Kremlin-Kitai Gorod axis. The ordered Neglinnaia, indeed, received clearer articulation in both 1786 and 1790 than it had in 1775. Implicit in regulating the river were the "red line" limits, established for buildings on the blocks adjacent to the river. Kazakov, attentive to this precision, used the line of the squares. Farther down the Neglinnaia his proposed Mokhovaia perspective impressively closed on the Pashkov House, high on Vagan'skii Hill. He represented Moiseevskaia Square as a small rectangle, close to where the monastery had once stood.

The plan of 1790 identified what was to become, after Red Square, Moscow's most famous plaza: the Theater (Sverdlov) Square. Located between the Dmitrovka and the Petrovka, it had its origins in the planning of the 1780s and events of the decade before that. When a private home there had burned in 1773, the Petrovskii Public Theater (later Maddox's) was erected in its place. Although Kazakov in 1790 proposed widening and regulating the open space in front of this building's plaza, the 1790 draft depicted only a small plaza, merely the limits of a residential block. The 1790 planners also proposed shifting commerce to the Varvarskie Gates, where the market, built with Governor Chernyshev's permission, contained vacant shops. Because commercial rows were prohibited along the Neglinnaia, the planners designated this newly

²³ *Istoriia Moskvy* 2: 352-54.

²⁴ See Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 67-70; Sytin, *Istoriia* 2: 271 and A. Kiparisova, "Chertzhi i proekty M. F. Kazakova v Tsentral'nom voenno-istoricheskoi arkhive," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 1 (1951): 117.

²⁵ Cf. Sytin, *Istoriia*, 2: 560.

²⁶ This special body for composing a "Plan of the Capital City of Moscow" (*Plan stolichnogo goroda Moskvy*) was established 11 July 1790.

²⁷ Cf. Budylna, "Planirovka i zaostroika," 172-73 n. and E. A. Beletskaiia, *Arkhitekturnye Albomy M. F. Kazakova* (Moscow, 1956), 27 n. hereafter cited as *Albomy M. F. Kazakova*. A. Kiparisova, "Chertzhi i proekty M. F. Kazakova," 116-17.

regulated river site for private housing to accommodate those uprooted in the laying out of the central plazas.

From the outset, shortages of equipment and skilled labor, inexperienced personnel, and Prozorovskii's indecision prevented the planners from meeting scheduled deadlines. Then in 1794 the governor died; two years later death claimed Catherine before she could react to the Commission's proposal. Paul, not unexpectedly, reversed his mother's general policy on city building as well as in other matters. He dismissed the special 1790 planning body and even the Building Commission for St. Petersburg and Moscow, which had first drawn attention to Moscow more than three decades earlier.

Catherine's passing marked the end of an era in city planning and building. Though the empress disliked Moscow, she had not neglected it. Prodded by occasional natural disasters, she had at least nudged the old city along its classical way. Her chief accomplishment, the general plan of 1775, served for over a decade as a model for refurbishing if not rebuilding the old city. Any departures from it seemed merely to stimulate new plans. What would have resulted from the new plans and from the new Commission is difficult to say, but Catherine's death clearly brought a temporary respite in town planning as a royal concern.

Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov: Architect of Classical Moscow

Despite the Emperor Paul's disposition to dismantle his mother's planning apparatus, building in Moscow did occur.²⁹ It was fostered principally by that city's most accom-

plished architect, Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov (fig. 3b). Kazakov had actually been on the Moscow architectural scene for many years and was nearing sixty when Catherine died. If less talented than Bazhenov, he was immeasurably more successful in obtaining approval for his projects and bringing them to fruition. One historian has even labeled the classical era the "Kazakov Period" (1770–1860) in recognition of his and his students' impact on the city's physical transformation.²⁹

Unlike Bazhenov, Kazakov had not studied in Rome, Paris, or even St. Petersburg; rather he graduated from Ukhtomskii's Moscow school where he had served for years as an apprentice. Except for a brief stint in rebuilding Tver, Kazakov spent his entire professional life in Moscow. In 1768 he joined the Kremlin Department as an aid to Bazhenov, thus beginning his long love affair with Moscow.³⁰ Under Bazhenov, Kazakov demolished, repaired, and rebuilt the Kremlin, and in so doing, acquired an unsurpassed knowledge of that ancient ensemble. During these years he also acquainted himself with the problems of materials procurement, even to the extent of planning brick factories and probing existing stone quarries. After 1770 Kazakov's role equaled that of Bazhenov in the Kremlin undertaking. He supervised the razing of the *prikazy* buildings and the Cathedral of the Chernigov Saints (located where the main facade of Bazhenov's palace was projected), oversaw the digging and laying of the palace foundation, and even prepared financial estimates for the palace construction itself. From 1786 Kazakov headed the Kremlin Department, which under his direction became a focal point for all important governmental building in Moscow and, as noted above, he utilized his organizational talents to resurrect the architectural school of Ukhtomskii.³¹

²⁹ Two *fin de siècle* planning efforts of little consequence were those by the Provincial Surveyor Khomiakov and the merchant Polezhaev. The former, charged on 17 February 1797, to complete a city plan, accomplished very little. Polezhaev's plan in 1796 was a slightly modified version of Gorikhovostov's of 1767 and Marchenkov's of 1789. Although it failed to discriminate between what actually existed and what had been projected in 1775, Polezhaev's contained information about buildings and streets and statistics. (Nvtin, *Istoriia* 2: 510, 495).

²⁹ Berton, *Moscow*, 135. Bunin also referred to these years as "Kazakov's Epoch."

³⁰ *Istoriia gradostroitel'nogo iskusstva*, 276; see also Kiparisova, "Chertezhi i proekty M. F. Kazakova," 116–18. The best existing biography of Kazakov is Vlasuk, *Kazakov*. The information appearing here is drawn largely from it and Il'in, *Kazakov*.

³¹ This institution continues today in the Moscow Institute of Architecture. (Il'in, *Kazakov*, 23–24).

At the invitation of the Moscow governor, Prince Prozorovskii, Kazakov in 1790 had entered into the planning of central Moscow. After completing the Moscow River embankment, he redesigned his Tverskoi House, the governor's mansion, and laid out in 1792 a plaza on the Dolgorukov properties before it. Although this project on the Tverskaia evoked little interest from Catherine, it proved to be one of the most important ensembles planned in Moscow before 1812.³²

Kazakov returned to the unfinished task of fashioning a classical Kremlin in 1797. The demise of Bazhenov's monumental scheme had left unresolved the matter of a palatial residence for the royal family: Kazakov's palace on the Prechistenka, regarded as temporary, appeared to be destined for demolition, while Rastrelli's old Elizavetinskii Palace in the Kremlin was no longer adequate for the royal family's needs.

The design by Kazakov for remodeling the Kremlin merits attention because, like Bazhenov's, it had broad planning implications. This latest Kremlin venture grew out of a project for a new palace, riding school, and hanging garden—all commissioned by the Emperor Paul.³³ Kazakov retained Bazhenov's focus on the southern approach to the Kremlin, but opted not to obscure the central group of Kremlin churches by a huge palatial facade (fig. 8). The southeast corner he reserved for the riding school, the main facade of which would have been on line with the facade of the central palace. These two edifices were to have framed the cathedral group and the bell tower of Ivan the Great, thereby forming a balanced three-part composition. Kazakov designed additional palace buildings for the rear of the Kremlin opposite the Trinity Gates. One of these, a three-story grand ducal residence, faced both the plazas by the Senate and the cathedrals, while his proposed three-story residence for the princesses just south

of the Trinity Gates was intended to shape that space as a trapezoid.

Kazakov, like Bazhenov, envisioned a palace embellished with columns. The main section, as viewed from the south, was to have rested on an arcaded lower story (retained from Rastrelli's old palace) that contrasted sharply with the soaring eight-column central portico, pediment, and cupola. Kazakov emphasized more than Bazhenov had done the external appearance of the Kremlin structures, the panoramic view from the south. For him the plazas were neither primary nor unique, but they did provide a uniformity for the whole composition. Despite Kazakov's care for this project and his stature as Moscow's chief architect, the plan was not approved.

In April 1797, the Emperor Paul turned instead to the architect L'vov (fig. 9) and instructed him to compose plans, not for a new, but for a reconstructed Rastrelli palace. L'vov went further, however, suggesting a vast ensemble, which incorporated the old structure (fig. 10) and integrated his palace with the existing Kremlin buildings. He, too, proposed that his palace occupy the prominent southern approach to the Kremlin. It resembled Kazakov's plan in that it represented a three-part palace composition with finished side wings. In his plan, L'vov treated Rastrelli's palace as the left wing of the new palace and accentuated a new central structure, which consisted of a six-columned portico and colonnaded rotunda, capped with a cupola. In one unapproved variant, L'vov even designed an essentially Gothic Kremlin, while employing a classical mode only for the new central edifice and the Rastrelli palace. To effect a Gothic look he proposed elevating a hanging garden to the substructure of the assemblage and then allowing it to trail off as a natural garden, through which the sweeping staircases of the central palace structure would have led.

A comparison of the Kazakov and L'vov plans shows the former as much larger in scale, really a major planning scheme. Kazakov had intended that his building would front on a street within the Kremlin, whereas L'vov projected his building in a garden surrounded

³² Cf. below, 000.

³³ For more on Kazakov's Kremlin project, see Vlasjuk, *Kazakov*, 287–96; the best account of L'vov's Kremlin palace is M. V. Budylnina, O. I. Braitseva, and A. M. Kharlamova, *Arkhitektori N. A. L'vov* (Moscow, 1961), 152–56.

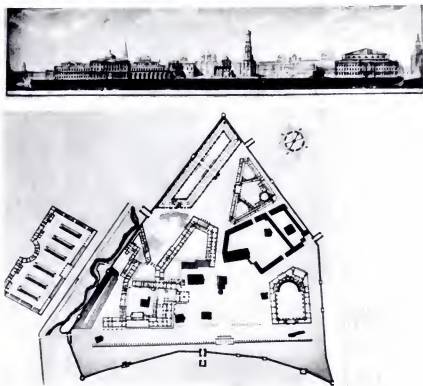


Figure 8. Plan of Moscow Kremlin, 1797, M. F. Kazakov (A. I. Vlasjuk, *Kazakov*, Moscow, 1957).

by high walls. Kazakov's horizontal assemblage would have presented a striking silhouette; L'vov's design, on the other hand, was for a single building rather than a complex. Instead of contemplating reconstruction of the entire Kremlin as did Kazakov, L'vov sought to harmonize his new buildings with the old.

The distinctions between L'vov's and Kazakov's plans resulted from different programs. Kazakov's plans assumed that the second-floor rooms of the west wing would be used for administrative purposes and the central building, a huge central hall, for gatherings. He would have replaced the ancient Sretenskaia Church with a new, well-lighted one. L'vov proposed small second-floor apartments, no central hall, and retention of the church. He designated the left side of the central corpus as quarters for the royal family. L'vov's intimate royal villa in a park-like setting failed, like Kazakov's monumental structure dominating the river front, to receive royal sanction—for reasons left unstated.

Although these two plans for a classical Kremlin constituted the last efforts of their kind for more than two decades, the streets and buildings in its vicinity continued to be a central concern as a new century dawned. Once again, Kazakov was the principal in the matter. Despite infirmity from illness and old age, in October 1800 he began still another project, the creation of a "facade plan" for Moscow.³⁴ Admirably suited for such a task as a result of his intimate knowledge of Moscow, he accepted the charge that he draft an axonometric plan, showing the city blocks in perspective, with plans, facades, profiles, and descriptions. In truth, this facade plan probably was intended to facilitate work on a general plan.

A precedent for this perspective plan had been completed some forty years earlier for

³⁴ See M. A. Il'in, "'Facadicheskiĭ' plan Moskvy M. F. Kazakova," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 9 (1959): 5–14, and Vlasjuk, *Kazakov*, 303–10.



Figure 9. Nikolai Aleksandrovich L'vov (1751–1803), D. G. Levitskii, 1789 (M. V. Budylna, et al., *Arkhitektori N. A. L'vov*. Moscow, 1961).

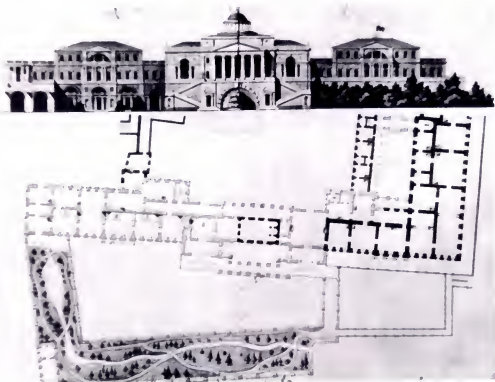


Figure 10. Design for Moscow Kremlin Palace, N. A. L'vov, 1797 (Budylna, L'vov).

St. Petersburg.³⁵ Furthermore, Bazhenov, before his death in 1799, had begun collecting drafts of "all large buildings existing in both capitals," with the idea of publishing them in a series entitled *Russian Architecture*. Although unfinished, this work was reflected in Kazakov's facade plan. Evident interest in Moscow's architectural appearance had also been indicated by the drawings of Giacomo Quarenghi and Francesco Camporesi, the engravings and lithographs from Dela Barthe's and Cadolle's paintings, the watercolors of Fedor Alekseev, and the drawings by Kazakov himself. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Moscow governor, I. P. Saltykov, should have given to the ailing Kazakov this facade project. Although no trace remains of the facade plan, a related project by Kazakov has survived. In the summer of 1802 Kazakov informed Saltykov that he was at work on drawings of "plans, facades, and profiles of private Moscow buildings."³⁶

In complying with Saltykov's command, Kazakov chose as assistants his former students, Semen Kesarino (Cassarino), Fedor Sokolov, Ivan T. Tamanskii, I. S. Selekhor, and his two sons, Pavel and Matvei. Surveyors and a detachment of soldiers were also placed under his supervision. The facade plan was to have consisted of 187 (later reduced to 185) tablets or parallelograms, with axonometric drawings of objects within the Kamer College boundaries (subsequently limited by the Zemlianoi Gorod). At the outset, the scale was 1 inch 70 feet, but eventually it was made to conform to the St. Petersburg plan, 1 to 15. The tablets were to have measured 39 inches × 28 inches, and 500 copies of each were projected. Through a precise measurement of the general plan and the buildings on the plots, exonomy was to have been achieved. The general plans of the lots were drafted in one scale from south to north to facilitate moving them onto the plans. The latter con-

formed to the sectors and streets of the city and were themselves to have been superimposed on a general plan of the city. Drawings were made of the measured buildings. After the final drafting of each tablet, the drawings were painted in watercolor and given an explanatory text. The atlas as a whole was designed to include additional description of the buildings and a map-key.

By 1804, after forty plates had been completed, the project lost the support of the Emperor Alexander, who had succeeded Paul, his father, in 1801. Kazakov, perhaps anticipating this prospect, had sought to hasten work on it by personally engraving and coloring two plates of the Moscow Kremlin; however in 1805, he was informed by the Moscow governor, Bekleshov, that the emperor "in order to escape large expenses necessary for the engraving of the facade plan of Moscow has stated that the expenditure of such a sum for a purpose in which there is no special worth is unacceptable."³⁷ Other factors—the Russo-Persian war, a renewal of the conflict with Napoleon, and Kazakov's illness—probably also influenced the decision. Initially, Alexander intended to deposit the unfinished portion of the plan in the Hermitage, but Kazakov urged that the drafts remain in Moscow in order to facilitate on-going street planning. Such was the fate of the most ambitious planning endeavor since that of 1775.

Kazakov's facade plan won praise from contemporaries despite its rejection. The architect Selekhor wrote that:

The Commission, having composed the facade plan of Moscow, will prepare a large geometric plan of this capital, and . . . this plan together with the facade plan will remain the only one and a model for all plans known in Europe.³⁸

Perhaps the true measure of this plan was that

³⁵ Cf. D. Arkin, "Perspektivnyi plan Peterburga 1764–1773 gg.," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 9 (1959): 13–20.

³⁶ Ifin, "Fadicheski plan," 7. These drawings have been published in Beletskii, *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*.

³⁷ Sytin, *Istoriia* 2: 364–65 and Ifin, "Fadicheski plan," 12; cf. also Vlasiuk, *Kazakov*, 310. The amount involved was 61,050 rubles, according to Sytin.

³⁸ As quoted in Vlasiuk, *Kazakov*, 310; cf. also Ifin, "Fadicheski plan," 7. Alexander I evidently had high regard for the project after all, for he bestowed upon Kazakov the medal

Kesarino, Nikolai Gorchakov, Petr Evreinov, and others of Kazakov's school who helped develop it, eventually played key roles in rebuilding Moscow after 1812. Nevertheless, the abandonment of the plan proved an unworthy finale for Kazakov, who lingered until the end of October, 1812, when he died perhaps from the shock of the burning of his beloved Moscow.³⁹

In addition to Kazakov's facade plan at least four additional plans of Moscow appeared in the decade before the Great Fire of 1812. The first, a slightly corrected version of the draft plan of 1775, was issued from the Surveying Office even before Kazakov began his facade plan. It mistakenly represented tree-lined boulevards along the Neglinnyi Canal from the Samoteka to its estuary when, in reality, this planting was only contemplated. A second, Courtenier's (Kurtener's) plan in 1805, used Marchenkov's of 1789 and that of 1800 for its model. Although larger in scale than any of these, Courtenier's draft, nonetheless, repeated anachronisms present in the 1789 plan. Sytin, commenting on the origins of this plan, rejected the view that it was the so-called "Ancient plan of Moscow of the XVIII Century," merely published by Courtenier. Nor did he date it 1800–1801; rather its anachronisms suggest that it was essentially the plan of 1789. The third plan, dating from 1806–1808, carried with it the inscription: "Plan of the ancient capital city of Moscow composed during the leveling of its heights and ravines." This plan evidently resulting from the planning efforts between 1792–1797 and Kazakov's between 1800–1804, consisted of six diameters which passed through the plan from one end to the other. Each diameter, shown separately in watercolor drawings, served as a profile of Moscow, depicting Moscow's main

buildings in relationship to others and to fields and gardens. *An Atlas of the City of Moscow*, a hand-drawn work prepared in 1806 and containing plans of nearby areas and Moscow homes, is known to have existed; however, it apparently was destroyed in the fire. So far as is known, nothing came of this draft.

The fourth plan, composed in 1810 in the Committee for the Equalizing of City Obligations (*Komitet po uravneniiu gorodskikh povinnostei*), proved to be by far the most influential. This Committee, in some respects the successor to the Commission for the Drafting of a Facade Plan for the Capital City of Moscow, served principally to equalize or balance the land tax of 1802 for the building of barracks. Having become involved in planning that year, it subsequently undertook the composition of a city atlas. When the Committee issued a plan for Moscow, it did so in two variants. Because the first bore the signature of Kesarino, director of drafting for the Committee, it generally is identified with him. Both variants limited Moscow to the Kamer College Rampart but they differed in scale, the first 1,400 feet to the inch and the second 840 feet. The former also contained an extensive legend, enumerating the twenty police districts of the city, a few words on the founding of the city 663 years earlier by Prince Iurii Vladimirovich, and some not very relevant measurements.

The second existing variant had the usually cumbersome title, "General Plan of the Capital City of Moscow, Composed in the Committee for Leveling City Obligations in Moscow with the Indication in Some Places of New Limits of the Kamer College Wall and Parts of the City, 1810." It differed from the first only in the new boundaries of the police districts and Kamer College Wall. The importance of this draft, to be discussed below, was the use made of it by the Scottish architect-planner William Hastie and the Commission for Building when they undertook the restoration of Moscow after 1812.⁴⁰

of Anna, second degree; gave to Selekhev and Sokolov diamond rings; and to Kazakov's two sons and to other architects gold snuff boxes.

³⁹ "The news was the death blow. Having devoted his entire life to architecture, having graced the throne city with superb buildings, he could not imagine without shuddering that his many years of labor turned into ash and vanished with the smoke of the fire." These were the words of Kazakov's son as quoted in Il'in, *Kazakov*, 45.

⁴⁰ Sytin, *Istoria* 2:382–83, 396, 493–94.

Building during the Planning Years

Although elaborate plans for Moscow were carefully drawn but left largely unimplemented, the architectural contours of Moscow did change during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Just how much is the question.

The two principal Soviet writers on the subject differ sharply. P. A. Sytin regarded the period 1762–1812 as significant for Moscow because of the “origin, creation, and completion of the draft plan of Moscow.” But he insisted that the plan in itself constituted no guarantee of a planned city. Instead “the plan, the abundance of orders and the editing completing and altering it, led to a planless, mainly spontaneous building of the city.” Sytin criticized Catherine and her planners for exaggerating the diversity of Moscow’s parts and consequently proposing distinctive architecture for each part. After all, rich nobles as well as impoverished artisans lived beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod and in the western sector of the Zemlianoi Gorod. In fact, nobles there often lived more splendidly than some inhabitants in the eastern portion of Catherine’s masonry “gorod.” In resorting to a tri-partite division, Catherine, he believed, took no account of the scarcity of building materials. While she forbade the construction of wood building in both the Kitai and Belyi Gorod, she did not preclude masonry in either the Zemlianoi Gorod or beyond. She consequently spread her materials too thinly and encouraged a lax policy of enforcing building codes within the “gorod.” In the face of shortages in funds, building materials, and opposition from vested interests, Moscow’s building continued “uncontrolled” despite the proclaimed aura of planning that characterized the period.

S. A. Zombe, in disagreeing with Sytin, construed the plan of 1775 as “one of the most interesting examples of such planning composition.” Even into the nineteenth century this project remained “a planning document on the basis of which were conducted city planning operations. It introduced a dis-

ciplinary principle into the planning and building of the city.” Zombe took Sytin to task for “diminishing the practical significance of the draft of 1775” and “explaining the principles placed in the plan by the whim of the Empress, Catherine II.” More than Sytin, Zombe emphasized that this period in the history of town planning was significant because of the “movement to regularize the planning and construction of the city . . . and to bring its network of streets to a determined, rationally built system.” The draft of 1775 was hailed as outstanding “for its great comprehension of realistic ideas over ‘ideal’ ones. . . . Its brilliant continuation of its historically-composed system of the city determined its role in the ensuing formulation of the planning and architectural-artistic appearance of Moscow.”⁴¹

These arguments notwithstanding there were some solid accomplishments. In the Kitai Gorod the alterations of Red Square were completed by 1795. In the 1790s a new Moskvoretskaia Street, linking the Moscow River quay to Red Square, was begun. Efforts to regulate other parts of the Kitai Gorod and eliminate its commercial clutter met with opposition from the tradesmen there. Attempts to widen the Varvarka and the Il’inka, for example, provoked a storm from those whose property was threatened. This opposition resulted in the building of new commercial stalls, not where the 1775 planners had prescribed, but at various locations in Red Square. The two-story building for shops on the west side of Red Square, for example, obscured view of the walls and towers of the Kremlin and isolated them from St. Basil’s. Some setbacks to planning may, however, have worked out for the best. In 1804 attempts to dispose of the Kitai Gorod’s decaying walls and buildings from the Nikol’skie to the Varvarskie Gates and to replace them with an Aleksandrovskaia Prospekt were vetoed by Alexander I, who decided that the ancient monuments in the area ought to be renovated and preserved.

⁴¹ See Sytin, *Istoriia* 2:481 ff. and Zombe, “Proekt plana Moskvy,” 53–54, 96.

Related to this Aleksandrovskii Prospekt was a plan by I. V. Egotov, architect of the Kremlin Department, and F. K. Sokolov. Entitled "Commercial square near the wall of the Kitai Gorod" and on the other side "Along the wall of the Kitai Gorod in Moscow in 1804 under no. 25," it embodied some of the principles of 1775. The authors urged demolition of the deteriorating parts of the Kitai Gorod and Peter's bastions, filling the moats, and razing buildings which crossed the limit lines. On the empty space the architects projected four market places, each alike in size and architectural style—with massive porticoes and colonnades. They intended to retain the wall of the Kitai Gorod from the Varvarskie Gates to the corner tower and along the Moskvoretskaia Quay. In the central part was a semicircular building with columns around its perimeter and its facade oriented toward the corner tower of the Kitai Gorod. The widening of the Kitaigorodskii Passage (*proezd*) as planned would have improved the view of the new ensemble from the river and, as it does today, joined the quays of the city with its central plazas.⁴²

In the Belyi Gorod, the Okhotnyi Riad, Moisevskaia, and Mokhovaia Squares as projected in the plan of 1775 had more or less materialized before the close of the century. That ambitious enterprise of ordering the banks of the Neglinnaia to its confluence with the Moscow River made some progress during these years, although completion had to wait until after the Great Fire. The beginnings of the great Theater Square may be traced to the 1770s and the city blocks north and east of the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod Walls to the 1780s. The New Square and the Old Square, both east of the Kitai Gorod, date from the years between 1782 and 1796. That space which became Varvarskaia Square was occupied by private estates as late as 1806, but a new street, intended in 1775 to link it with the Moscow River quay, was laid out in the 1790s. The plan of 1806–1808 indicated that

trees had already been planted on it. A portion of the area north of the Cannon Court had been cleared as early as 1780; between 1803 and 1804 the factory itself was razed, a leveling which created an expanse from Peter's Bastions at the Kitai Gorod to the northern line of Cannon (Pushechnaia) Square. Private homes on the latter site were removed after 1806.

The upper reaches of the Belyi Gorod and the Zemlianoi Gorod underwent modest changes before 1812. The Belyi Gorod Walls and Towers were dismantled between 1750–1792, but the boulevard projected for their site was hardly begun by the century's close. Brius, as Governor General of Moscow, proposed paving the space vacated by the Belyi Gorod Wall and using it for a market. His successor, Eropkin, urged plotting avenues only along those streets where the walls had stood. Neither proposal was approved by Catherine II, but in 1796 Governor M. M. Izmailov authorized completion of the Tverskoi Boulevard as a promenade between the Tverskaia and Nikitskaia.

The image of Zemlianoi Gorod, especially the Moscow River area of Zamoskvorech'e, changed notably by the end of the century. Alongside the already existing Bolotnaia and Polianskaia Squares appeared Sepukhovskaia and Kaluzhskaia after 1798. The Vodootvodnyi Canal, paralleling the arc of the old Moscow River bed, was built in the years 1784–1786 to reduce flooding in the area.⁴³ In many respects, this river sector was the most altered part of central Moscow. Late in the 1780s construction on the quays from the Great Stone Bridge to the mouth of the Iauza began. The Kremlin Embankment, completed by 1791 or earlier, became a favorite for the strolling aristocracy before the Tverskoi Boulevard opened. Between 1795 and 1800 the primary stone siding of this Kremlin Embankment was replaced by a capital support wall, and between 1801 and 1806 Moskvoretskaia

⁴² Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskv," 92–94 and Sedov, *Egotov*, 18.

⁴³ Instead of the four canals called for by the plan of 1775, A. I. Gerard built this one. (Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskv," 82. Also see below, 107, 171.)

Embankment, by the Kitai Gorod, was faced with stone. Four years later, a stone quay before the Foundling Home was completed. Southwest of the Kremlin, the Bersenevskaia Embankment's wooden support walls dated from 1737–1745; these walls, however, and those on the Sofiiskaia and Raushskaia, were not replaced with stone siding until long after 1812. Trees may have been planted along these quays as early as the 1790s.

Progress on the Neglinnye canals and basins was slow, despite the very considerable attention given to them. The 1786 plan had called for a canal and pools with boulevards alongside, but this canal was not completed until 1791, some forty feet east of the river's original bed. At that time the city's trials with the Mytishchinskii Aqueduct had only begun. In effect, the Neglinnaia solution was deferred until after the Great Fire.

Perhaps more than any single element in Moscow, the Kremlin acquired greater clarity in perspective. As viewed from its southern approach, it benefited when old buildings obscuring its magnificent churches were dismantled. To this extent Kazakov's impact on the Kremlin was greater than Bazhenov's, for as chief Kremlin architect he not only cleared the Kremlin of deteriorating structures (Preservation was not a consuming passion with the classicists!) but designed the Senate, which was built in 1776–1787. His Moscow University and Bazhenov's Pashkov House facades strikingly framed the Kremlin on its west side. This Neglinnaia border was completed on the south side by the Foundling Home, the Military Commissariat (the long facade of which extended along the flat bank of Zamoskvorech'e), and the Shapkin (later Tutolmin) House even farther down stream.

In addition to these Neglinnaia and Moscow River ensembles, one on the Iauza River east of the Kremlin and another farther along the Moscow River accentuated the Kremlin.⁴⁴ The first consisted of the huge Catherine (Golovin) Palace (Antonio Rinaldi and Giacomo Qua-

renghi), the new Military Hospital (Ivan Egotov), and the refurbished Petrovskii-Slobodskii, or Suburban, Palace complex (Kazakov). Below Lefortov on the Iauza, Menelas's Razumovskii Palace, Ascension (*Voznesenie*) Church, and Demidov House linked the Lefortov ensembles with the Kremlin. The second of the major ensembles, which included the Dolgorukii, Trubetskoi, and Demidov mansions and Kazakov's Golitsynskaia Hospital unfolded along the Khamovnicheskaia Loop of the Moscow River.

New residential housing, although limited, resulted from late eighteenth-century planning efforts. Despite a prevalence of dilapidated wood cottages in most parts of Moscow, occasionally masonry dwellings did replace frame ones lost to fire or razed to bar the plague in the early 1770s. In these the classic style prevailed, for they were placed on the "red lines" of streets and conformed to model designs issued by the Kamennyi Prikaz. Some of the best of Moscow's old buildings and monuments were incorporated into Moscow's new urban design.

A notable occurrence in the late eighteenth century was the appearance of rental property, especially in the Kitai Gorod, for artisans and tradesmen. Much of this building, undertaken by lesser architects or merely master carpenters, distorted classical models. They successfully moved away from the rococo styles of midcentury by creating more symmetrical structures, embellished with purely classical motifs. Pilasters decorated the facades and masonry houses were often trimmed with stone socles and cornices. On two-story buildings the windows were often united by vertical panels (*filenka*) and wooden houses often possessed various kinds of imitation masonry trim. Most houses of Moscow, especially those in the outskirts, possessed no design or ornamentation at all.⁴⁵

The reign of Catherine II, then, was a period of extensive town planning in Russia. The empress's disdain for old Moscow and

⁴⁴ For a fuller discussion, see below 113–121, 182 ff.

⁴⁵ Cf. Brunov, *Istoria russkoi arkhitektury* 351 ff., 391 ff.

her enchantment with classicism persuaded her to foster various planning and building schemes to alter its appearance. The general plan of 1775, a watershed in the city's history despite its immediately meager yield, continued as a model for planning before 1812 and, particularly, afterwards. Although Moscow's architects dreamed more easily than they

achieved, Catherine's "classical" Moscow was more than a blueprint. It was a city with an ever-increasing number of edifices in the new style. Their striking ochre and amber pastels would cause Napoleon on the Sparrow Hills in fateful 1812 to marvel at the sight of a *European* city beneath him.

CHAPTER V

Construction in Moscow's City Center Before 1812



Although Moscow had undergone notable change late in the eighteenth century, its architects fell short of creating a classical city in the fullest sense.¹ Attempts to transform both the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod had met with little success. While preliminary efforts to convert the old fortress into a classical Kremlin, in fact, had shorn it of many ancient buildings, the elegantly conceived palaces by Bazhenov, Kazakov, and L'vov failed to materialize. Only a graceful Senate building gleamed in the midst of still very old Kremlin surroundings. The Kitai Gorod benefited from a new *gostinyi dvor*, an arcade of shops; but the continuing presence of earthen bastions and ancient moats in and around Red Square somehow belied any rush to the classical orders.

This mixed architectural image prompted a varied reaction from contemporaries. Foreigners, awed and disgusted by the old city, often deprecated what they saw, especially after an initial visit. On the other hand, those who returned were impressed by the changes. The scientist and traveler Peter Simon Pallas

was struck by the "magnificence" of Moscow's buildings and the vastness of some of the architectural ensembles: "Every object we behold in Moscow is, like the city itself, in a certain degree gigantic." He was referring specifically to the Foundling Home, but he also marveled at the beauty of Kazakov's Hall of Columns in the Nobles' Meeting House.² The Englishman, Linney Gilbert, like so many visitors, perceived the contrast in riches and poverty, the old and new: "Wretched hovels," he observed, "blended with large palaces; cottages of one story stand . . . next to most superb and stately mansions." Remarking that some parts of Moscow were like a desert and other parts densely populated, that some sections resembled a village and others part of a great capital, he concluded that "this Asian city was gradually becoming European."³

Central Ensembles: The Kremlin

Transforming the Kremlin, doubtless the most "Asiatic" element in the city, proved an on-going process with responsibility vested in the Kremlin Department. Although estab-

¹ Good general descriptions of Moscow's architecture during the second half of the eighteenth century may be found in N. Kovalenskaia, *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva XVIII veka* (Moscow, 1962), 135-160; Brunov, *Istoriia russkoi arkhitektury*, 351-93; Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova; Grabar', *Iskusstva* 6, which contains a section on Moscow city-building (250-265) and separate chapters on Bazhenov and Kazakov; *Istoriia Moskvy* 2: 623-41. The reader is here referred to M. Il'in, *Moskva, Pamiatniki arkhitektury XVIII-pervoi treti XIX veka/Moscow Monuments of Architecture*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1975), cited as *Monuments*.

² *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire in the years 1793-1794*, 2 vols. Transl. from the German by P. S. Pallas (London, 1812) 1: 7. Pallas was in the pay of the Russian state during the course of his travels. In particular, he described Russia's fauna and flora.

³ Linney Gilbert, *Russia Illustrated* (London, 1844), 158.

lished to facilitate Bazhenov's plan, it remained a force in renovating the Kremlin long after Bazhenov's classical scheme had been set aside. Many old buildings were replaced during these years. Decaying buildings from the sixteenth century—most of which were located in the Kremlin's western section between Trinity Gates and the grand palace in the south—were among the first pulled down. The Sretenskii Cathedral by the palace, Trinity Podvor'e, facing the Trinity Gates, along with the Epiphany and Sergievskiaia Churches and buildings in between were all demolished. The Godunov Palace was sold at an auction in 1806.⁴ In 1802 repair of the decaying walls commenced. The tottering Water (*Vodovzvodnaia*) Tower was dismantled and rebuilt in 1806. In that year, too, and for reasons left unexplained, the Nikol'skaia Tower in Red Square received a tent-shaped superstructure, adapted to the pre-classical seventeenth-century mode. Its author, surprisingly, was the St. Petersburg classicist Karl Ivanovich Rossi.

Architectural additions to the Kremlin at the *fin de siècle* were really quite few, far short, indeed, of Bazhenov's vision of the 1760s. For the new Senate Square, the former site of Trinity Podvor'e and Godunov Palace, Ivan Egotov designed and built (1806–1809) a two-story classical armory to house the palace treasures. In addition to having a rusticated ground floor and an upper one finished in two colors, this edifice was faced with a Corinthian portico and an elevated attic with a cupola. Its elegance was enhanced by bas-relief figures over the second-story windows and Gavriil Tikhonovich Zamaraev's sculptures of Russians, triumphant in enlightenment, clustered around the attic.

An unexpected alteration occurred in the grand palace: a version of Rastrelli's original edifice, approximating the design of L'vov, appeared on Kremlin hill after 1800. A second

floor was added to the palace over the middle portion on the river side, and the center section of the first floor received a colonnade with a balcony. The mezzanine balcony was, in turn, crowned with a pediment. Such remodeling of the Rastrelli palace represented the extent to which the ideas of Bazhenov, Kazakov, and L'vov were fulfilled before 1812. In still another Kremlin change Rossi, employing the seventeenth-century National Style, designed the Ekaterinskaia Church in the Ascension monastic complex. That church, unfinished in 1812, was finally completed in 1817 by the architect Aleksei Nikitich Bakarev.⁵

More than any of the above, Matvei Fedorovich Kazakov's Senate Building was the most important classical monument erected in either the Kremlin or Kitai Gorod at this time (fig. 11, 12a,b). Built between 1776 and 1787, while Kazakov was a member of the Kremlin Department, it linked a proliferating government to the architecture of classicism. The building's shape was that of a triangle, its exterior corners severed and with an inner court. It was further conditioned by its proximity to the Kremlin Wall, the former Chudov Monastery, and the Arsenal. Central to its composition was a cupola-capped rotunda, wedged into the apex of the triangle and on the main entrance axis. This rotunda (fig. 13), encompassed by a monumental Doric colonnade, touched upon the entire Kremlin ensemble. Located midway between the Savior and Nikol'skie Gates, it imposed a diametrical axis on Red Square and became a landmark for future building there.

The overall external appearance of the Senate was one of simple grandeur. Its amber facade had a rusticated lower portion and pilasters without capitals. This favorite Russian device accentuated the severe and flat vertical projection of the wall in order to compensate for the extended facade. A powerful cornice balanced a generally plain exte-

⁴ Also sold in this manner were the Kolymazhnye (or Gerbovyie) Gates at the entrance of the *Perednii* Imperial Court and the "Lion" Gate of the Potesnyi Palace.

⁵ It was demolished in 1929. Cf. illustr. N. 1a. Tikhomirov and V. N. Ivanov, *Moskovskii Krem'* (Moscow, 1967), 209.



Figure 11. The Senate Building, Arsenal, and Nikol'skii Gates after a painting by F. Ia. Alekseev, about 1800 (Donkoi, V.5659).



Figure 12a. The Senate (1776–1787), M. F. Kazakov (Schmidt).

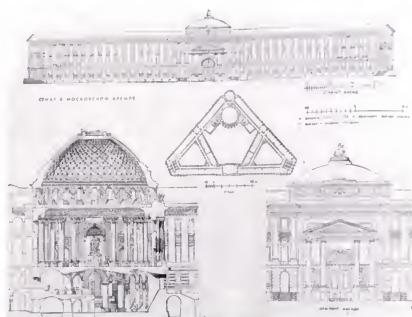


Figure 12b. Drawing, Kazakov's Senate (Brunov, *Istoriia*).



Figure 13. Senate rotunda from the inner court (M. A. Il'in, *Moskva pamiatniki arkitektury XVIII- pervoi treti XIX veka*. 2 vols. Moscow, 1973, hereafter cited *Monuments*).

rior. Kazakov employed the Doric order for the facade, but chose Ionic for the portico. A four-columned portico with a pediment, placed in the center of the main facade, emphasized the smaller cupola over the entrance arch and also opened a view to the formal pentagonal court and compositional center of the building, the cupola rotunda hall.

The Senate's interior offered a dazzling elegance quite apart from its quiet exterior.

Within the rotunda was, first of all, the meeting place of the Senate, a hall measuring 89 feet in height and 81 in width.⁶ The most impressive element here was a Corinthian colonnade, above which stretched a gallery and the cupola embossed with rosettes and squares. Light filtering through three tiers of

⁶ See *Monuments* 2: 56-60, for recent photographs of the Senate.

windows bathed the hall and highlighted Kazakov's bas-relief decorations, which extolled the virtues of his empress and the ideals of the Enlightenment. This Senate rotunda hall, the most splendid in Russia, became a model for classicism throughout the realm.

Beneath the Senate and beyond the Kremlin Wall lay Red Square, which, too, had changed during the course of the century. Though smaller in 1800 (fig. 14) than it is today, it was, nonetheless, Moscow's busiest plaza. Pedestrian and equestrian jostled each other and overflowed to every corner of it. Mid-eighteenth century prints depict the Resurrection Gates choked with people on foot, in coaches, wagons, carts, and carriages making their way across an unpaved plaza (fig. 15). Portable pancake (*bliny*) stands and hawkers of most anything in their loaded carts dominated commerce in the square. Stalls along the Kremlin Wall from the Nikol'skie to the Savior Gates and on the east side, where GUM now stands, controlled trade on the periphery. Between St. Basil's and the Savior Gates tradesmen with their stands, men on horseback, well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, army officers, and beggars intermingled; this configuration was repeated across the square where merchants' stalls cluttered the entrance to the Kitai Gorod. The glut of dwellings and shops around St. Basil's and along the Moskvoretskaia down to the river denied the viewer that sense of spatiality that may be experienced there today (fig. 16).

Although this disordered scene had by no means disappeared by the end of the century, perceptible changes were occurring. While remaining virtually enclosed and oblong in form, the square benefited from new commercial rows constructed in 1786. These bracketed both the east and west sides of the square, accentuated its naturally longitudinal axis, and obscured from the plaza the malaise of Kitai Gorod shops. On the Kremlin side of the plaza a stone bridge at the Nikol'skie Gates spanned the dried moat, overgrown with weeds and trees, and offered a perspective of tortured St. Basil's. From the stunted tent

spire of Nikol'skie Gates to the soaring Savior Gates along the Kremlin moat, a colonnaded arcade replaced rickety, wooden stalls. The longitudinal axis extended from St. Basil's to the Resurrection Gates; the diametrical one, from the cupola of the Senate to the shops on the opposite side of the square.

Beyond Red Square, the rest of the Kitai Gorod burgeoned haphazardly. Here, too, a superabundance of people and vehicles invaded the Il'inka, Varvarka, Nikol'skaia, and their interconnecting alleys, pushing and shoving past the wooden shops and stalls. The potential for fire in this sector, despite all the planning, had not diminished with the years. The notable exception to this disorder was a new and massive Gostinyi Dvor (fig. 17), erected in 1790–1805 between the Il'inka and the Varvarka, an area occupied by some 4,000 shops of the Higher and Middle Commercial Riady.⁷

Designed along classical lines by Giacomo Quarenghi and possibly Matvei Kazakov, the Gostinyi Dvor was built by Semen A. Karin and I. S. Selekho in the form of a rectangle with an interior court. Various architectural devices such as side projections, a finely orchestrated pattern of openings, and alternating rusticated and smooth walls obscured the drop from the Il'inka to the Varvarka. Encompassed by a two-story open arcade, since closed, the building on its street sides was embellished by what was essentially a Corinthian colonnade. The pillars composing it were really free standing and gave great power and spaciousness to the building; the single cornice gave it the unity of a single block. In its interior court, where deliveries were made, pilasters without capitals substituted for the columns with little loss of elegance. Nowhere in Moscow was the classical idiom more consciously bestowed on a commercial building. Considering the Kitai Gorod's central role in Moscow's economy, the Gostinyi Dvor was appropriately located in its busiest streets.

⁷ See *Monuments* 2: 73–76, for recent photographs of the Old and New Gostinyi Dvory (Merchants' Yards).



Figure 14. Red, or possibly Old (Starina), Square at the end of the eighteenth century. Engraving from a drawing by J. Dela Barthe (Donskoi, V. 24655).



Figure 15. The entrance into Red Square through the Resurrection Gates (Donskoi, V-8225).



Figure 16. Moskovetskaya Street with St. Basil's in the background, c. 1800. Painting by F. Ia. Alekseev or his school (Donskoi, V.1999).



Figure 17. The Gostiny Dvor in the Il'inka (1790–1805), Giacomo Quarenghi and M. Kazakov(?). (Schmidt).

Some years later, 1839–1842, a new gostinyi dvor was erected just opposite this earlier one. Although both survive, the earlier one remains architecturally superior.

Other classical edifices were constructed in this area. Sometime after 1785 two grandiose houses with some sixty shops beneath—the Kalinin and Pavlov House and that of the Khriashchevs⁸—were constructed on the Il'inka (fig. 18). Designed by Kazakov to house haberdasheries on the ground floor, they greatly improved the appearance of their neighborhood. The Kalinin and Pavlov House was built on the site of the old Ambassador Court. Essentially rectangular, its gallery of twenty-two arched portals punctuated the main facade with its massive six-column Co-

rinthian portico on a podium.⁸ The Khriashchev House, undistinguished with its rusticated facade, eventually received a Corinthian portico, perhaps after 1812.⁹

Just a short distance from these houses, where the Il'inka crossed the Bogoiavlenskii (now Kuibyshevskii Passage), Karuninskaia Square was created between 1776–1782. Seventeenth-century buildings belonging to the Volokolamsk and Trinity-Sergei (in Zagorsk) Monasteries were razed for this plaza, planned by the architect Ivan Egorovich Starov.¹⁰ Com-

⁸ The Kalinin and Pavlov mansion was changed significantly in the 1830s. (Cf. *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 33–35, 245).

⁹ In 1838 a gallery was added to the first floor. (*Ibid.*, 36–37, 245).

¹⁰ Sytin, *Ulit*, 97.



Figure 18. The Ilinka, the houses of Kalinin, Pavlov, and Khriashchev by M. Kazakov. From a watercolor by F. Ia. Alekseev or his school at the end of the eighteenth century (Donskoi, A-7020).

merce was further assisted by the building in 1804 of a number of two-story, stove-heated shops in Bogoiavlenskii Alley. These brought to Karuninskaia Square the trade that previously had flourished along the Kremlin Wall between the Nikol'skie and Savior Gates.

Like the Il'inka the Varvarka bristled with activity and had an even more wooden appearance. Nor did widening in 1792 save it from the conflagration twenty years later. Its most notable classical edifices were Lushnin House and the Church of St. Barbara the Great Martyr. The Lushnin assemblage of two two-story sections reached to the street. Both had rusticated lower floors and rounded corners, from which wings extended at 90° angles. Within the court created by these street wings a central three-story structure stood apart. The most notable aspect of this asymmetrical ensemble was the contrast it presented to the non-classical surroundings.¹¹ The same was true of St. Barbara's church within the shadow of the old Gostinyi Dvor. In the form of a Greek cross, it contained bell tower and cupola and a striking four-column Corinthian portico, all of which made it an exception to the older churches surrounding it.

Because Russian sovereigns in the eighteenth century used the nearby radial Nikol'skaia for a grand entrance into the Kremlin, triumphal arches had frequently to be erected where the street entered Red Square. In it resided the wealthy and powerful Cherkaskies and Sheremetevs, for whom Ivan Starov built a classical mansion in 1790–1791. Yet increasingly the Nikol'skaia became identified with bookshops, twenty-six of which were located there by the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Since the architecture in this street was not classical, it had little consequence for the scheme of a new city.

At the far end of Red Square from the Nikol'skaia, Moskvoretskaia Street led from St. Basil's to the bridge of the same name. The street, which originated in the late fifteenth century when the Kremlin walls were

erected, linked with the bridge at the end of the eighteenth century to form a Tverskaia-Piatnitskaia axis.¹² Although the plan of 1739 showed only St. Basil's and two smaller churches on the west side of the Moskvoretskaia and the Cattle-branding Yard and commercial stalls on the east, in reality, the shops lined both sides of the street. In the early 1790s, Governor Prozorovskii ordered the demolition of a corner of the old Cattle-branding Yard that extended into the Moskvoretskaia Street itself and the widening and straightening of the street. After the fire of 1812 destroyed all the Moskvoretskaia's wooden buildings, some were replaced by masonry.

Between the Varvarka and the Moskvoretskaia Embankment of the Moscow River lay *Zariad'e* (beyond the riady). In 1770 this sector was an overcrowded slum of workmen, craftsmen, and lesser tradesmen. Because Peter's bastions, which encompassed the Kitai Gorod, severed the sewage connection with the river, much waste and filth flowing from the Varvarka collected in *Zariad'e*. Not surprisingly many epidemics, notably the great plague of 1771, originated there. To improve the lot of the *Zariad'e* and, in particular, to correct the shortcomings of the water system, the Moscow River Embankment was built beneath the Kitai Gorod walls in 1796–1800.

The flow of traffic no less than that of water caused the Kitai Gorod problems requiring the planners' attention. Throughout the eighteenth century Peter's bastions governed Kitai Gorod traffic, blocking old gates and causing the opening of new ones. North of the embankment along the eastern fringe of the Kitai Gorod the bastions necessitated the building in 1739 of the Novo-Nicol'skie Gates (opposite Miasnitskaia, now Dzerzhinskii Square), the first to replace old tower gates. New entrances also pierced the Kitai Gorod Wall south of the Il'inskie Gates and north of the Varvarka.

¹¹ Al'bomy M. F. *Kazakova*, 93, 253.

¹² In 1938 many houses on the Moskvoretskaia were demolished, thereby opening this area behind St. Basil's to a new Moskvoretskii Bridge.

Another entered into New Square, south of the Novo-Nikol'skie Gates. The Il'inskie Tower Gates remained open, but the Nikol'skie and Varvarskie were sealed. Heavy Kitai Gorod traffic also resulted from new commerce. The removal in 1783 of a sizable market from the Okhotnyi Riad to the east side of the Kitai Gorod and construction three years later of masonry shops to supplement or replace wooden ones already there helped organize New Square, specifically designated for commerce.¹³

Because the Kitai Gorod Wall fell into disrepair in the vicinity of New Square, the authorities considered razing it, even before the Great Fire. The governor, A. A. Bekleshov, proposed in 1804 to demolish that portion of the wall between the Varvarskie and Nikol'skie Gates and to construct in its place a wide Aleksandrovskaia Prospekt. Because the tsar did not approve this scheme, it was dropped; however, when fire destroyed the wooden shops near the wall in 1812, a thorough reordering of the area became a necessity.

The Kitaiskii Passage, a circular boulevard skirting the east side of the Kitai Gorod, was opened in 1790, when the moat was filled. In 1806–1808, houses there were demolished and rows of trees planted, but the plan of 1775 was never quite realized. The bastions remained for some years; and when they were dismantled, a succession, rather than a chain of plazas was laid out. Along Kitaiskii Passage, where the Varvarka linked with the Solianka, construction of Peter's bastions had necessitated razing many dvory, but this 1806 plan shows, surprisingly, that some there had, in fact, escaped destruction.¹⁴ Future Lubianskaia Square, for example, late in the eighteenth century was occupied by dvory, shops, the almshouses of the Church of Fedoseevsk, as well as the bastions.

In the southeastern corner of the Kitai Gorod, between the Solianka and Moscow River, lay Vasil'evskii Meadow, which after the middle of the eighteenth century was totally transformed by the famous or infamous Foundling Home. Erected between 1764 and 1770, this structure (fig. 19) became important for both social and architectural reasons. The perceptive Edward Clarke noted that in the twenty years prior to 1786:

it had received no less than thirty-seven thousand, six hundred, and seven infants. Of this, one thousand and twenty had left the asylum and there remained six thousand and eighty at that time. In 1792 the number of children in the house amounted to two thousand; and about three thousand belonging to the establishment were at nurse in the country. Every peasant that has an infant receives a ruble and a half month's allowance. Every month, such of the children as have been vaccinated are sent into the country where they remain until the age of five years. Before vaccination mortality was much greater.¹⁵

Edward P. Thompson, in the next century, referred to this institution when he observed that "a premium is offered to the heartless in Russia by opening the doors of an asylum, disguised under a philanthropic name" to fill the ranks of the army and navy.¹⁶

The work of the architect Karl Ivanovich Blank, the Foundling Home was also a milestone architecturally. It was the first structure in Moscow representing a departure from the rococo to the classical. Designed to accommodate some eight thousand orphans, this ensemble consisted of two important structures, each of which enclosed a rectangular court. These were in turn joined by a central unit projecting toward the Moscow River. The ensemble was framed on three sides by lower (two-story) structures, used mainly for warehouses and living quarters. The color-washed

¹³ In the midnineteenth century the original New (*Novaya*) was called Old (*Staraya*) and vice versa; this situation somehow righted itself by the end of the nineteenth century. (Cf. Sytin, *Uchi*, 112–13).

¹⁴ After the bastions were leveled in the early 1820s, the Varvarskaia Square (presently Nogiin) emerged.

¹⁵ *Travels in Russia, Tataria, and Turkey* (Edinburgh, 1839).

¹⁶ *Life in Russia; Or, the Discipline of Despotism* (London, 1848), 281. For more on foundlings in Russia, see David L. Ransel, *Mothers of Mercy: Child Abandonment in Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1988).



Figure 19. Center section of the Foundling Home (*Vospitatel'nyi Dom*), 1764–1770, in the Vasil'evskii Meadow from the Moscow River. Karl I. Blank (Schmidt).

facades of the Foundling Home were rusticated at the ground level and embellished above by a cornice which accentuated the building's prevailing horizontal character. The center section, uniting the two principal complexes, consisted of three separate elements, each of which, crowned by a cupola, extended toward the river. Two were small, but the central cupola became one of the identifiable features of the entire assemblage and a Moscow landmark. Although its long facade, measuring 1,243 feet, appeared to face the river, the Foundling Home really turned inward toward its parade ground on the Solianka. In so doing it formed an important link with other ensembles around the Kremlin.

The Belyi Gorod

Although residences appeared in the Kitai Gorod late in the eighteenth century, it remained essentially commercial. The true residential sector was that aristocratic refuge, the

Belyi Gorod, although even there some buildings, particularly those in the central squares, served a public purpose.

In the 1770s planners began conjecturing about central squares positioned along the west side of the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod.¹⁷ In the next decade changes actually began on the Neglinnaia beneath the Kremlin. Okhotnyi Riad Square, projected in the plan of 1775 and modified in 1786, emerged in 1791. Originating at the Nobles' Meeting House (presently *Dom Soiuz*), the plaza eventually stretched across the future Theater Square to the Moiseevskii Monastery almshouses. In the 1780s private dwellings—among them the estates of the Dolgorukovs and Gruzinskies—and several churches, and a cemetery lined the northwest.¹⁸ On the opposite side from

¹⁷ Cf., especially Sytin, *Istoriia* 2, Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," and Sytin, *Ubits*, passim.

¹⁸ Before seizure of this land by the Dolgorukovs and Gruzinskies, the meal and flour shops had occupied this area. Fire destroyed them in 1737. The Dolgorukov-Krymskii mansion on the corner of the Great Dmitrovka became in the 1780s the Nobles' Meeting House. See n. 23 below.

the Dolgorukov holdings the press of Okhotnyi Riad shops begged for some kind of order.

When renovation of the Okhotnyi Riad began in the 1780s, estate houses and fences were removed to allow for masonry shops on the "red line" of the south side. In 1786, old shops on the square's north edge were demolished and replaced with two-story ones of brick and stone. Otherwise, progress lagged; execution of the 1786 variant encountered delays when princely and ecclesiastical landowners sued to obtain compensation for their land. Generally, old structures remained interspersed with the new throughout the 1790s. Although Prozorovskii had demanded demolition of remaining buildings in order to realize Kazakov's 1790 plan, the empress permitted the razing of only one church, the removal of its cemetery, and the destruction of the separate belfry and clergy's houses of another.¹⁹ In 1791 an Okhotnyi Riad Square, less than that envisioned in 1775, officially opened, although shops were not built from the square's center to its south side until 1798.

The other central squares were only partially organized in accordance with the plans. It is even questionable whether the Moiseevskaia, projected for the site of the former Moiseevskii Monastery, ever developed into the small rectangle conceived by Kazakov.²⁰ In any case, it was later absorbed by Manezhnaia Square after 1812. From Moiseevskaia Square to the Great Nikitskaia in the early 1780s, shops of every description—eating places, taverns, a flea market, and scrap shops—jammed the narrow alleys. In 1783 the authorities transferred some of these to Old and New Squares; in 1790, fire destroyed others.²¹ After 1790 larger craft shops appeared in this burned out area.

The future Mokhovaia Square (unfolding at what is today the lower end of the Manezh) in the early 1780s was a maze of wooden shops or stalls, which Governor Brius tried to eliminate. His edict, dated 11 February 1786, stipulated that 13,500 rubles be taken from the Kremlin department treasury funds for their demolition and the construction of new masonry shops, in accordance with Sokolov's plan of 1786. By June, Brius could report that Mokhovaia Square was nearly complete; however, the governor was premature, for work on the square actually dragged into the reign of the Emperor Paul.²²

Late in the eighteenth century, a number of prominent classical buildings were erected in these central squares. One, Prince V. M. Dolgorukov-Krymskii's splendid property in the Okhotnyi Riad, was altered in 1782, possibly by Matvei Kazakov, to become the Nobles' Meeting House. That edifice used for meetings and glittering social affairs perhaps more than any other symbolized the "golden age of the Russian nobility."²³ Its exterior was undistinguished except for its several Corinthian porticoes and bas-reliefs, but within it gleamed Kazakov's marbled Hall of Columns (*Kolonnnyi Zal*) (fig. 20a,b), one of the most spectacular creations of Russian classicism. Pallas, impressed generally by the magnificence of Russian palaces, singled out this "grand assembly

²² Kazakov's plan reduced the size of the Mokhovaia as conceived by Sokolov in 1786 and thereby enlarged the city block which lay between the square and Okhotnyi Riad Square. Cf. Grabar', *Izvestia* 6: 256–57, 260–61, for reproductions of Sokolov's and Kazakov's plans of the Neglinnaia area. See also Zomhe, "Proekt plana Moskv," 88–89.

²³ The Nobles' Meeting Hall (now House of Trade Unions) on Okhotnyi Riad antedated Kazakov's building in Moscow; nevertheless, he completely altered both its exterior and interior. Even while drafting plans for the university nearby, Kazakov was called upon by Dolgorukov-Krymskii, governor of Moscow, to transform a rather ordinary mansion into a magnificent one with a hall for official receptions and balls. This governor had purchased the building from one Volinskii in the 1760s and finally sold it on 19 December 1784, to the Assembly of the Nobility. Cf. A. Kiparisova, "Neopublikovannye proekty moskovskikh zhdchikh konsa XVIII i nachala XIX vekov: chertezhi i proekty M. F. Kazakova v Tsentral'nom voenno-istoricheskoi arkhive," *Arkhitektural'noe nasledstvo* 1 (1951): 114–16, hereafter cited as "Neopublikovannye proekty." The exterior of the Nobles' Meeting Hall was refurbished again in 1793–1801 and was rebuilt in 1896 and 1903–1908. See *Monuments* 2: 87–89 for recent photographs.

¹⁹ The church razed and cemetery removed was that of St. Anastasia; the partially dismantled St. Parasceve was itself rebuilt.

²⁰ All the Moiseevskii monastic buildings were razed in 1780; the monastery itself had been dissolved in 1765.

²¹ When owners of larger shops prevailed upon the governor to remove entirely the taverns and scrap riads, Prozorovskii complied by transferring them to Old (Staraiia) Square in the Kitai Gorod and the flea market to the New Square. (Sytin, *Uib*, 174).



Figure 20a. Nobles' Meeting House; Kazakov's Hall of Columns within (Schmidt).

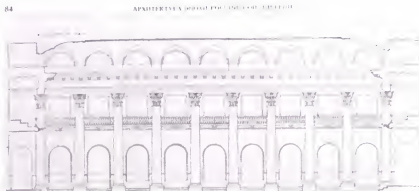


Figure 20b. Kazakov's Hall of Columns, 1784–1786 (Brunov, *Istoriia*)

hall" for balls and masquerades and called it "one of the most spacious rooms in Europe."²⁴

Kazakov fashioned interior space—witness his Senate and Golitsynskaia Hospital interiors and the Golden Rooms of Demidov House—by relying upon cupolas, columns, pilasters, cornices, bas-relief sculptures, and paintings. His Hall of Columns, however, with its glistening Corinthian colonnade, surpassed in

beauty all the other three. Its enveloping columns supported a small attic with a balustrade that also encircled the room. Above a protruding frieze semicircular windows allowed light to filter through the columns; meanwhile, semicircular mirrors, resembling these windows, created illusions of spaciousness and further magnified the brilliance of transparent crystal chandeliers, which hung between each pair of columns. The frescoed ceiling was one of Kazakov's great interior

²⁴ *Travels*, 9.

masterpieces but it was destroyed by the fire in 1812. An arched doorway pierced the midsection of each of the walls. Although simpler than the Senate Hall, the Hall of Columns emerged as a prototype for palatial ballrooms in Russia. Similar rooms appeared in Kostroma, Tula, and Kaluga. Severely damaged in 1812, the Hall of Columns was restored by Aleksei Bakarev, who probably added the gallery.

After 1784 Kazakov undertook to harmonize the exterior of the Nobles' Meeting House with its splendid hall. Drawings show that he originally contemplated embellishing the central portico and the Dmitrovka facade with bas-relief sculptures and facing the columns and pilasters with stucco. He also pondered enriching the Okhotnyi Riad side with a portico of a semicircular arch with double pillars on each side. Later drawings show that Kazakov ultimately rejected this ornate decor, especially on the Dmitrovka. Except for a small pediment over its columns the initial plans for the Okhotnyi Riad side were not significantly altered either.

Shortly after undertaking his work on the Nobles' Meeting House, Kazakov in 1786 laid the foundation of the main university (fig. 21) building on the Mokhovaia near the Great Nikitskaia and north of the Kremlin. The university had originally been housed some thirty years earlier, in a building by the Resurrection Gates. It acquired rights to the new location just two years after its founding, when the properties of the Repnins, in 1757, and those of the Ivashkins, in 1773, were procured. By 1775, the old structure at the Resurrection Gates had been relegated to dormitory use, even though a new building was far from completion.

Preparations for a new university began as early as 1777.²⁵ Kazakov, charged with its

design, began work on his first draft in the late 1770s. This plan, complex in its composition, offered a decorative exterior. Compositional stress fell on the building's center, on its great dome, portico, and the usual classical accoutrements—columns, decorative balconies, and allegorical sculptures. For balance Kazakov proposed unadorned wings, which, along with the sumptuous central facade, would have embraced a quadrangular courtyard. Although the plan received approval, a shortage of funds caused work on it to proceed slowly.

Completion of the wing facing the Nikitskaia was the only significant accomplishment by the fall of 1782. At that time Kazakov ordered some changes, notably curving the corners of the wings and altering details in the facade. By 1784, the second wing was completed. For the next two years, the university building would boast of two wings but, alas, no central corpus. On 2 March 1785, an appropriation of 125,000 rubles facilitated construction of this main section; the first stone was laid on 23 August 1786.

Kazakov's university, completed in 1793, inspires interest, not only for what it was, but because it illustrated the evolution of his thinking during its various stages of planning and construction. Although the original draft had typified the style of the 1760s and 1770s, in its modified version it showed the influence of Bazhenov's Great Kremlin Palace, becoming simpler in plan and more severe in decor. The facade's midsection, with its large cupola and small domes, did, however, retain its splendor. In a third plan, Kazakov accentuated the length of the facade by straightening it. He moved the round reception hall to the rear and flattened the dome. By a more even distribution of the decorative elements, he lessened the contrast between the wings and the central facade.

The university complex finally assumed the form of the Greek "II." It possessed an impressive entrance court formed by enveloping wings of the building, and separated from the Mokhovaia by a fence with two gates. Kazakov

²⁵ Cf. Kiparisova, "Neopublikovannye proekty," 111–14. Kazakov's building is sometimes referred to as the "old" university to differentiate it from the "new" university ensemble (1833–1836) of E. D. Tiurin facing the Mokhovaia on the lower side of the Great Nikitskaia. A still newer university rose in the Lenin (formerly Sparrow) Hills during the Stalin era.



Figure 21. Moscow University (1786–1793) from the banks of the Neglinnaia. Watercolor by architect M. F. Kazakov. (*Monuments* 1: 55).

placed this building on the same line as that of the Nobles' Meeting House thereby articulating the northern fringe of these squares which girded the Kremlin. The building's compositional center was its great assembly hall, a half-rotunda capped with a cupola. Smaller circular halls occupied the ends of the wings while the remaining rooms were rectangular. An eight-column Ionic portico dominated the center of the facade over the rusticated ground floor; four-pilaster Ionic porticoes embellished the extremes of the lateral wings. Kazakov's artistry may be observed today only in the main facade; the cupola and trim in the hall are a part of Domenico Giliardi's and possibly Grigor'ev's masterful restoration in 1817–1819.

Farther along the Mokhovaia from the university, Vasilii Bazhenov created in the mid-1780s one of Moscow's most graceful and handsome residential ensembles, Pashkov House (fig. 22a,b). Placing it on a promontory opposite the Borovitskie Gates of the Kremlin and separating it from the Mokhovaia with an

exquisite fence, the architect endowed this urban estate house with a radiant and distinctive central corpus, wings, formal entrance, gardens, and diverse auxiliary buildings. In so doing, he made it an exemplar for princely living and taste in late eighteenth-century Russia. Svin'in, in his description of Moscow, cited the Pashkov House, in particular, for its magnificence and surprises. "It comprehended within itself all the conveniences and delights of life. This little garden situated on a pretty high eminence presented a type of the Garden of Eden." The varieties of statuary to which each footpath in it led, the riding academy, the theater for serf actors, and the lamps—all caught his fancy.²⁶ By placing this house high above the street, with a panoramic view of the Moscow River at its juncture with the Neglinnaia, Bazhenov insured its exposure

²⁶ Pavel Svin'in, *Sketches of Russia* (London 1814, 2nd ed. 1843), 30–31. The full meaning of Pashkov House as an ensemble is discussed by Gulianitskii, "O kompozitsii," 21–23. The author particularly emphasizes Bazhenov's inclusion of older buildings.



Figure 22a. Pashkov House (1784–1786), V. I. Bazhenov (Schmidt).

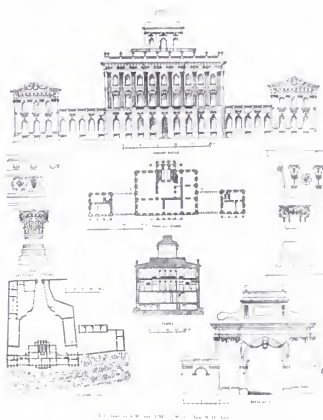


Figure 22b. Drawings of Pashkov House (Brunov, Istoria).

from all sides and its inclusion in the larger architectural complex of the Kremlin.

The gleaming white Pashkov edifice rose three stories and was crowned with a belvedere. Single-story galleries extending from both sides of it were linked with two-story wings. The main entrance, facing the formal court within and on the side opposite the Mokhovaia, was placed on the axis of the central building. To the right of the vestibule, a sweeping staircase led to the first floor and main hall of the palace. Lateral pavilions completed the ensemble.

The combination of rococo and Palladian splendor of Bazhenov's Pashkov House was expressed strikingly in its Kremlin facade, dominated by a majestic four-column Corinthian portico. The architect placed a statue beside the first and fourth columns of this portico. The entire building derived a soaring quality from its components—the portico and pilasters on the facade of the lateral porticoes, the diminished height of windows on each successive story of the building, the triangular pediments of the lateral porticoes, and the cubical central structure and cylindrical belvedere. The sloping hill also accentuated the palace's verticality, probably more than anything else. Pashkov House's elegance was enhanced by the twin Ionian columns encompassing the belvedere and the frieze and pediments of its lateral wings liberally endowed with garlands, rosettes, and striking bas-relief figures. All of these and a central corpus were surmounted with a balustrade and urns. A picturesque garden, enclosed by an openwork iron fence and supported by massive pillars, unfolded along the slope of the hill before the main facade and extended nearly to the Neglinnaia. The entrance to Pashkov House from Vagan'kovskii Alley was a splendid Ionic gate and enclosed court. Twin Ionic columns flanked both sides of the main entrance; small ones rose beneath the arch of Tuscan order.²⁷ Bazhenov's Pashkov House,

like Kazakov's university was a monument of early Moscow classicism, yet it carried with it the ornateness of the rococo. Built originally for P. E. Pashkov, a member of Catherine II's household, then ravaged by fire in 1812, it was restored thereafter with some modification by Osip Bove. Today it retains its importance as part of the Lenin Library.

In the Soviet capital today two additional ensembles complete the line of eighteenth-century facades that begin with Pashkov at one end of the Kremlin and conclude with the Nobles' Meeting House opposite the Kitai Gorod wall. Although these ensembles did not exist late in the eighteenth century, the refined architecture and spatial composition of Theater and Manezh Squares did, indeed, have their origins in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The new university, Maddox's (the Petrovskii) Theater, the Nobles' Assembly, Pashkov House, and rows of new commercial buildings marked an area which eventually ranked in importance second only to the Kremlin and Red Square.²⁸ Beyond Maddox's Theater and the Neglinnaia, where the old Cannon Court (demolished 1803–1804) and a mass of private dwellings had stood, space was opened almost to Maroseika Street.

Ordering the Neglinnaia

The Neglinnaia River, long at odds with the concept of a classical Moscow, entered the Belyi Gorod Wall due north of the Kremlin through a wide arch and beneath a closed tower. It followed a course similar to that of the radial streets, converging on the Kitai Gorod, and thereafter trickled along the west side of the Kremlin bastions to the Moscow River.²⁹ By midcentury the Neglinnaia, in

took on an early nineteenth-century look, was faithful to the original design. In 1938 a staircase was built before the main facade. The building, as part of the Lenin Library, houses the Rumiantsev Collection.

²⁸ This theater was named for the Englishman Maddox; it opened in 1780 and burned in 1805. It was located approximately on the site of the Bol'shoi Theater of today.

²⁹ The opening created by this arch, guarded by an iron grille, was about sixteen feet. (Sytn, *Uits*, 314). Because Neg-

²⁷ The fire in 1812 destroyed all of Bazhenov's interior and the belvedere. The restoration except for the belvedere, which

deference to the bastions, had been rerouted to a new bed; the old one, meanwhile, collected refuse. At the Kremlin, three bridges—the Resurrection leading into Red Square, and the Trinity and Borovitskii nearer the Moscow River—reminded Muscovites of the river's earlier importance.

Resurrection Bridge, opposite the Okhotnyi Riad and the university, was the busiest intersection along the Neglinnaia's entire course³⁰ (fig. 23). On this stone bridge leading into Red Square, mingled the rich and poor: noble, soldier, priest, tradesman, serf, and beggar. Some rode, some walked, most loitered; beneath the bridge, maids washed their assorted laundry. In the background towered twin tent spires that identified the Resurrection Gates, and farther to the right a single spire designated the Nikol'skie. The Senate dome barely exposed itself, but nearer at hand stood the Main Pharmacy, or Zemskii Prikaz, and below the Kremlin walls bulged Peter's bastions.

In the north, too, the Neglinnaia was shallow, although it occasionally flooded the Petrovka in the spring. Flowing past the gardens of Rozhdestvenskii Monastery, it gave a bucolic cast to that quarter. Around Kuznetskii Bridge this rural character lessened as the Bridge became a place for smart shops. Adjacent land holdings, especially to the north, were consolidated as the Cannon Court blacksmiths and stable keepers were displaced by gentry and such princely newcomers as the Vorontsovs.³¹

Moscow planners, contemplating a clear and sparkling Neglinnaia, proposed in 1775

regulating and cleansing it. They talked of widening and deepening the river's bed, straightening it, and planting trees along its banks. Flanked by stone quays and symmetrical boulevards, this new Neglinnaia would enhance both the ancient Kremlin and the new ensembles opposite it; moreover, it could serve Muscovites as both a major transportation artery, foreshadowing later Neglinnaia Street, and as a source of fresh water.

The proposed linking of the Neglinnaia to an aqueduct from the village of Mytishch (about sixteen miles north of Moscow) joined the issues of the river's beauty and utility. Moscow's water supply had reached crisis proportions by the late eighteenth century. The Moscow River and its tributaries were polluted, and well water, long tapped for drinking and cooking, had also become contaminated. In 1779, Catherine II named a Commission for the Construction of a Water Works in Moscow and appointed the engineer F. V. Bauer as its head. Sent to Moscow with orders "to inspect all suitable sites to supply this city with pure water and to make a project and monetary estimate suited for this purpose," Bauer conceived of constructing an aqueduct to bring water from Mytishch into the city, along the west side of the Neglinnaia to the Kuznetskii Bridge, and even beyond to the Moscow River. In his appraisal of the situation he wrote:

Having inspected carefully all these surroundings, I present not only my project for leading sufficient, pure water into this city but also for transporting from the city some of its impurities, for which the River Neglinnaia itself gives us an opportunity. Besides that I propose to fill in part of the above-mentioned ravine, which divides the city [for the length of the Neglinnaia]. This could provide free and uninterrupted communication among all the streets of the city and would create such good and suitable places for strolling in parts of the city from which most people [now] move as far as possible because of evil odors arising from the Neglinnaia. The streets as well as the gardens which lie on both banks of the river will

linnaia Street did not exist before the late eighteenth century, no gate, of course, had been cut through the Belvi Gorod Wall. *Truba*, or pipe, applied to the opening through which the river flowed. After the wall and tower had been dismantled and the river converted into a canal, *Truba* designated the entire area, and after 1794 even the plaza which opened there. The best accounts of this attempt to order the Neglinnaia are Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 59–60, 64–65, 71–81; Sytin, *Usta*, 242–44; and Grabar', *Izvestia* 6: 252–61.

³⁰ The bridge was demolished when the Neglinnaia was piped underground after the Great Fire.

³¹ The Vorontsov House, built by Kazakov, still stands on the Rozhdestvenka (now Zhdanov) as the Moscow Institute of Architecture.



Figure 23. Resurrection Bridge over the Neglinnaia and entrance into Red Square through the Resurrection Gates, late eighteenth-century print (Donskoi, IV-1248).

receive from this [filling of the ravine] a larger area to develop and will have much easier access to water during fires.³²

Besides proposing to replace the dead Neglinnaia with a canal and aqueduct, Bauer planned classical trappings: ordered landscaping, stone embankments, bridges, ponds with fountains and cascades, statuary, obelisks, water pavilions, and fountains along the canal.³³

Work on the Neglinnaia-Mytishch project proceeded fitfully. By 1787, eighteen fountains and twenty-eight basins had been built in Mytishch, and from them water flowed by gravity in a stone aqueduct. For a time the authorities suspended work because of the Turkish war. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the Mytishch waters were carried into Trubnaia Square to a round pavilion, which contained a water-purifying pool, and then on to Kuznetskii Bridge. This pavilion pool served as source for the open Neglinnyi Canal, which began at this point.³⁴ That canal, built in 1789–1791, was situated about forty-two feet east of the river's original bed, which had been filled with debris. From Trubnaia Square, the quays were sided with stone, and below Kuznetskii Bridge, surmounted by a decorative iron grille. Staircases were placed along both sides of the canal, north and south of Kuznetskii Bridge, and Neglinnaia Street was built along its quays.

Shortly after 1800 the task of completing the Neglinnaia project from the Kuznetskii Bridge and increasing the supply of fresh water fell to A. I. Gerard.³⁵ In 1804 the

Gerards, father and son, proposed a system of three oblong basins, alternating in varied lengths with open and enclosed canals, in the hope of improving the Neglinnaia from the Kuznetskii Bridge to the Moscow River. They plotted the Mytishchinskii Aqueduct along the left bank of the Neglinnyi Canal to the Kuznetskii Bridge at which point it passed to the canal's right side, assuming a position parallel to the Moscow River. Locations for water-purifying fountains to fill the basins were designated. Although several variants of this proposal circulated, these essentials were approved by Alexander I in an imperial edict issued 18 February 1806. This "Moscow Aqueducts" project, assigned to the Department of Water Communications with A. I. Gerard in charge, was expected to take four years to build at an annual cost of 110,000 rubles.³⁶

Work on the basins and canals below the Kuznetskii Bridge began in accord with Gerard's plans but for unknown reasons was never completed. The first basin, nearly a half mile long and thirty-five feet wide, lay along the old course of the Neglinnaia, just north of the Kitai Gorod; the second lay opposite the bastions of the Kitai Gorod; the third beneath the Kremlin walls, between the Resurrection and Trinity Gates. Like the canal banks, these basins were planted with two rows of lindens and guarded with a decorative iron railing.

The last section of the canal, that between the Trinity Gates and the Moscow River, was crucial to the success of the Bauer-Gerard project, for the canal-basin system simply could not function properly without it. Not only did it remain unfinished, but even the completed section of canals and basins was defective: both in quality and in quantity the supply of water fell far short of expectations. Late in 1811 General P. L. Carbonier, an engineer from St. Petersburg investigating the water-supply canal, suggested remedies for the flawed system. His proposals came to nothing when in the following year all available funds were earmarked for the restoration

³² Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 64.

³³ Although Bauer died in 1783 before completing his work, he had always intended after completing his plan for the aqueduct to turn his project over to architect-planners for development as an architectural project.

³⁴ Inside the Trubnaia pavilion a vertical cast-iron pipe in the center of a stone-sided pool captured the surplus water and sent it through other pipes and into fountains between Trubnaia Square and the Kuznetskii Bridge. (Svin. *Uchb.*, 315).

³⁵ In addition to the Sokolov and Kazakov drafts of the Neglinnaia area, that of the Gerards is also illustrated in Grabar', *Izvestiia* 6: 252–53. Noting that the canal had been completed as far south as the Kuznetskii Bridge, A. I. Gerard observed that the area between the Kuznetskii Bridge and the Moscow River, about 5,600 feet in length, "remains most marshy and disgusting as the small current of the Neglinnaia River flows over the marsh and in summer produces a very disagreeable air." (Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 65).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

of burned Moscow. For several years the Neglinnaia River project was set aside.

Then, in 1816, the Committee for Building and Hydraulic Operations discarded the scheme of a water-supply canal altogether. It recommended instead that

the open canal, filled because of lack of hydraulic pressure with impurities and producing an unpleasant odor, be covered with arches and paved, and, thus joining the squares, would create a thoroughfare around the walls of the Kremlin.³⁷

Between 1819 and 1823, total elimination of the Neglinnaia was accomplished under the auspices of the Commission. In such a manner

Moscow lost the prospect of a tree-lined water thoroughfare but succeeded, finally, in ridding itself of an eye-sore and sanitation problem.

That the 1775 plan for the central plazas and the Neglinnaia was even partially implemented emphasized the priority assigned to the reconstruction of central Moscow. The grandees of Catherinian Russia—those who most frequented Kazakov's Hall of Columns, Senate, and university and Bazhenov's Pashkov house—established their residences in close proximity. It is to their habitat of porticoed mansions washed in yellow, blue, and pink that we next turn. Located on the radial thoroughfares, these urban estates in the Belyi Gorod gave to the city its sharpest image of classicism.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

CHAPTER VI

Moscow's Thoroughfares Before 1812



From the beginning of Catherine's reign Moscow was becoming something quite different from what it had been. It continued to be big and dirty and those who lived there as boorish as ever, but the city became vital in a new way. This surge of energy was largely traceable to the emancipation of the nobility from state service in 1762. Finding life far removed from the court in St. Petersburg much to their liking, they discovered Moscow. Thoroughly Russian, it served their purpose both for community and for distance from the Neva. Taking up residence in Moscow, the nobility encouraged the building of public edifices like the Nobles' Meeting House, Maddox's Theater, and the university. They also built great houses along and behind the arterial streets of the Belyi Gorod and the Zemlianoi Gorod. Because Moscow until the great fire was essentially an underdeveloped city, villas also occupied the rural expanses within the city limits. Urban estate houses no less than those townhouses fronting on the streets became a distinctive feature of affluent classical Moscow.¹

The great houses invariably carried a mon-

umental facade, symbolic to those enjoying new status in society. Typically, this facade was divided into three horizontal parts by stringcourses or mouldings, each separating a floor, and usually three bays wide; it was sectioned into nine rectangles. The center, where the middle vertical and horizontal bands intersected, determined the location of the main hall within. The dominance of this central entrance was achieved, frequently, by a majestic Ionic or Corinthian portico of six, eight, ten, or twelve columns; the remainder of the facade extending from the portico had variously five, seven, or nine windows. A large and ornate window, usually on the axis of the portico, was flanked by the remaining three, five, or seven windows in each of the lateral wings. A three-story residence normally had a vestibule and servants' quarters on the ground floor, a center hall, and suites of rooms for entertaining on the next floor, and bedrooms on the floor above.

These estate houses generally followed three distinctive plans.² In one, the main block lay beyond the line of the street, with its perpendicular wings forming a court. The L-

¹ Some built in unpopulated areas beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod, as noted in the next chapter.

² Cf. P. E. Gol'denberg, *Staraya Moskva* (Moscow, 1947), 49-52.

shaped wings reached to the street and were each in turn linked by an ornamental iron fence and gate.³ A variant of this first type was represented by lateral wings, extending the main corpus to create an exceptionally long facade.⁴ In another modification, such extended lateral wings were brought forward to the street, thereby separating the court from the street.⁵ A second and fundamentally different type of estate house lay along the line of the street and reserved its main facade for an interior court; thus, unlike the first plan, it backed on the street.⁶ A third kind, common to the radial thoroughfares of Moscow, occupied a corner lot. From the main hall on the corner, lateral wings skirted the two perpendicular streets. Usually cylindrical in shape, the exterior of the hall was shielded by a colonnade and appeared externally as a rotunda with a dome.⁷

* * *

For centuries Moscow's radial streets had borne the traffic to and from Moscow's historic center: in the west, one led to Volokolamsk and Smolensk; in the north, to St. Petersburg; and in the northeast, to Iaroslavl' and Vladimir. Communities of tradesmen, long having occupied these roads in the Zemlianoi Gorod, were pushed farther out by the noble influx of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Of all the radial thoroughfares the Prechistenka, more than any other, was appropriated by the nobility at this time. Designated Volkhonka-Prechistenka in the Belyi Gorod and Prechistenka-Ostozhenka in the Zemlianoi Gorod, it originated in the southwestern cor-

ner of the Kremlin and also attracted traffic from the Great Stone Bridge, which entered the radial through the Vodnyie Gates of the Belyi Gorod. During the seventeenth century such prominent families as the Prozorovskies, Sheremetevs, Iushkovs, and Buturlins lived along the Volkhonka-Prechistenka. Later, Peter's favorite, Prince Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov, built a palace there; and so did the princely Shakhovskies, Dolgorukovs, Golitsyns, Volkonskies, and Naryshkins.

Building on the Prechistenka continued during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Kazakov at the beginning of the 1780s was charged by the empress herself to transform the older Golitsyn and Dolgorukov mansions into a single palace. Catherine originally had entertained such an idea for celebrating the Peace of Kuchuk-Kainarji in 1774. Although she had not built then, the decayed state of her several Moscow palaces required a decision.⁸ Eventually, she determined to utilize these Prechistenka residences as the core of a new structure.

By late 1774 Kazakov with his pupils Rodion Kazakov, Nikolai Matveev, and Aleksei Khodov prepared a draft of the middle section which linked these two mansions into a single edifice. As constructed, it contained a columned throne room and an adjacent reception room in the Dolgorukov section. These chambers were decorated with garlands, medallions, and wreaths. A terraced gallery joined this formal part of the palace with the Golitsyn wing. Kazakov even included an iconostasis in the church of the palace.

Catherine, reacting unenthusiastically, referred to the palace in a letter to her confidant, Melchior Grimm, as "a triumph of confusion."⁹ The palace did not remain for long on the Prechistenka. After Catherine's departure for St. Petersburg, it was dismantled and

³ The house of Count Osterman near the Karetnyi Riad was of this type.

⁴ Beketov House on the Miasnitskaia and Razumovskii in Gorokhovskii Alley.

⁵ Razumovskii House on the Vozdvizhenka and Shcherbatov on the Petrovka.

⁶ Examples: Talyzin House on the Vozdvizhenka, Dolgorukov on the Povarskaia, and Pashkov on the Volkhonka-Mokhovaia. Cf. Goldenberg, *Staraya Moskva*, 50.

⁷ Cf. Iushkov House on the Miasnitskaia and Sheremetev on the Vozdvizhenka.

⁸ The Rastrelli buildings in the Kremlin and the Annenkhof were in lamentable condition and the Ekaterinski Palace, under construction on the site of the Annenkhof summer palace, was proceeding at a slow pace. Cf. Kiparisova, "Neopublikovannye proekty," 109-111.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

removed to the Sparrow (*Vorob'evy*) Hills, where it was rebuilt in 1778 on the foundation of old Vorob'evskii Palace.

Kazakov, meanwhile, obtained commissions from both the Princes Golitsyn and Dolgorukov to build in the Prechistenka. In 1778 the Golitsyns had Kazakov design an auxiliary building; two years later the Dolgorukovs charged him to design and build a mansion. The latter, magnificent and expansive, established an assertive position on the thoroughfare with its powerful six-column Ionic portico and a splendid dome on a drum (figs. 24 and 25). Massive entrance gates, surmounted by a balustraded balcony which linked the central block with the lateral wings, led into a park of fountains and ponds. This spectacular town house, although frequently modified since 1812, is still a dominant edifice on the Prechistenka.¹⁰

Despite destruction caused by the fire of 1812 to the Prechistenka, that street retained its aristocratic appearance through its altered or new edifices. One of the former was the late eighteenth-century mansion belonging to the 1812 war hero, Denis Davidov. Resembling Menelaus's Razumovskii mansion in Gorokhovskii Alley, it had a towering pedimented facade and two balustraded half-porches. The variation of arched and square apertures and smooth and rusticated walls further distinguished its Ionic facade.¹¹

Another refurbished eighteenth-century structure was the police office. Its Corinthian columnar and pilastered facade, backed by a plain upper and rusticated lower wall, reached to the street and gave the building the aura of authority appropriate to its use. Notably, it had a parapet rather than a pediment and a blank frieze balanced by a moulding of dentils.¹²

¹⁰ As illustrated in *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 99–102, 254; and *Monuments* 2: 142–44. This house burned in 1812 and was altered again in 1837.

¹¹ See *Monuments* 2: 346, for a description and recent photograph.

¹² See *Monuments* 2: 178, for a recent photograph. Near these two Prechistenka edifices stood several notable ones in the Ostozhenka. That of General P. D. Eroptin, built in 1771,

On the Znamenska, which crossed the Mokhovaia beside Pashkov House, Moscow's grandees also resided in great splendor. Behind Pashkov House, on the corner of the Krestovozdvizhenskii Alley, Count R. I. Vorontsov had a majestic residence, which, with its colonnaded portico and "court of honor," was another tribute to Kazakov. A theater was housed in a wooden addition to this palace from 1766 until fire destroyed it in 1780. Another Znamenska house, one which also accommodated its owners' love for theater, was that of General S. S. Apraksin, built by Camporesi in 1792 with a stage and quarters for both serf and Italian troupes.¹³ An expansive facade with an eight-column Corinthian portico and a dome on a drum over the entrance hall were its most prominent external features. Still standing in the Znamenska is the house of Arsent'ev-Buturlin, built about 1800.¹⁴ Its facade, tastefully divided into smooth-textured and rusticated sections, was dominated by an octastyle Ionic portico and four arched doorways beneath this porch.

The prevailing classicism of the Vozdvizhenka, the high road to Smolensk, was traceable less to individual buildings than to an extensive ensemble at its lower end, a composite of the houses belonging to the Talyzins, Sheremetevs, and Razumovskies. The Corinthian Talyzin mansion on the west side of the street and the Doric Razumovskii and Corinthian Sheremetev (fig. 406) on the opposite side formed a magnificent assemblage with several older churches and the Mokhovaia House of A. I. Pashkov, itself adjacent to the

was rectangular and severe. (Illustrated in *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 95, 253 and in *Monuments* 2: 347). The monotony of an extended facade was broken by pilastered sections, a gabled pediment, and a portal of four pairs of Doric columns supporting a balustraded roof. Just thirty-five years after its construction, in 1806, it was completely rebuilt. The frame Loshakovskii-Ysevolozhskii House, an Ostozhenka classical residence, was erected at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See *Monuments* 2: 347, for a description and recent photograph.

¹³ Cf. Sytin, *Ulit*, 188 and *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 157–59, 262. After the 1812 fire performances were also moved here from the burned-out Arbatskaia Square theater. In the autumn of 1818 the theater moved to the A. I. Pashkov House at the Mokhovaia and Great Nikitskaia.

¹⁴ *Monuments* 2: 160–61, 342.

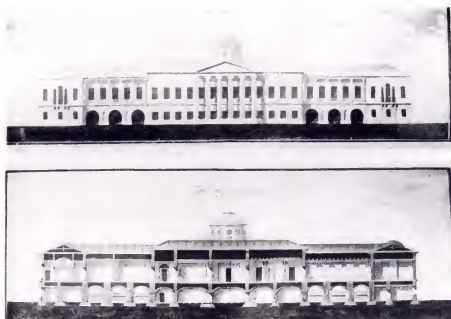


Figure 24. Dolgorukov House (1780s) on the Prechistenka, architect M. F. Kazakov. (E. A. Beletskaja, *Arkhitekturye Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, Moscow, 1956; hereafter, *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*).



Figure 25. Dolgorukov House as restored in the 1830s and 1840s and appearing today (Schmidt).

new university.¹⁵ The central corpus of the estate belonging to General Count P. F. Talyzin (1787) lined the Vozdvizhenka. Its facade of three horizontal sections supported a shallow Corinthian portico. Between the main building and the smaller end ones portals opened into an expansive semicircular rear court. This mansion, attributed to the "school of Kazakov," burned in 1812 and was later restored.¹⁶

Across from this Talyzin block stood Count N. P. Sheremetev's small corner house, designed probably by N. A. L'vov. Originally built for the Hetman K. G. Razumovskii about 1780, it passed to the Sheremetevs in 1800. From the corner rotunda, its wings extended at right angles along the Vozdvizhenka and an intersecting alley. A Doric colonnade laced this building's rounded corner, and a flat cupola on a drum, pierced by round windows, capped it. A pediment and series of medallions over each first-story window enlivened its Vozdvizhenka facade. Although this house burned in 1812, it, too, was restored, in 1814–1816.¹⁷

Adjacent to this corner house, the Hetman Razumovskii had also owned a more spacious Vozdvizhenka mansion, possibly a creation of Bazhenov (fig. 40b, p.118). Located where a seventeenth-century Naryshkin estate house had stood, it, too, was conveyed to Prince Sheremetev in 1800. Its long and ornate facade with projecting wings was articulated by a portico of Corinthian pilasters and the three arched main entrances. Its interior—the hall in particular—had exquisite wall and ceiling ornament and parquet floors. Auxiliary buildings, extending from the main corpus, formed a magnificent formal court that extended to the Mokhovaiia. This estate also burned in 1812.¹⁸

Beyond the Mokhovaiia, the Vozdvizhenka passed through the Arbat Gates before branching into various radial thoroughfares in the Zemlianoi Gorod. After the gates and old buildings had been pulled down, a large square was set out before 1800. Although some wooden structures remained, the Arbat became the hub of aristocratic Moscow.¹⁹ The Counts P. B. Sheremetev and F. A. Osterman and a Golitsyn prince lived there, and in 1807 Karl I. Rossi built the frame Arbat Theater. This high, colonnaded structure with its superb decor and sets was destroyed with the rest of the plaza in 1812.

The nobility also dominated such lesser Arbat radials as the Povarskaia between the Arbat and Garden Ring. There glistened the columns and washed classical mansions belonging to the Dolgorukovs, Volchovs, and Solugubs.²⁰ In the Great Nikitskaia the houses were similar to those in the Arbat and Povarskaia. In Catherine's day many old Moscow families like the Bezsonovs, Orlov, and Razumovskies, and grantees like the Princess E. R. Dashkova, Prince S. A. Menshikov, and I. A. Brius possessed properties there;²¹ others—the Romodanovskies, Apraksins, and Kolychevs—had resided in it since early in the

¹⁵ The author remembers nostalgically this entire area west of the Arbat to the Garden Ring and north to the Great Nikitskaia (Herzen) in the early 1960s. Although decaying, it nonetheless retained its classical purity. Then the bulldozer destroyed much of it to make way for the modern Kalinin Prospekt.

¹⁶ That of Prince A. N. Dolgorukov with its magnificent portico and wings framed a garden and yard, which were separated from the street by a grille. This mansion is now the Union of Writers of the USSR. Reputedly, it was used as a model by Tolstoi for the Rostov House in *War and Peace*. The nearby Volchov House, situated behind decorative iron fences and gates, achieved compositional symmetry through a careful arrangement of its facade elements—eleven windows across, twin Ionic columns at each end, and a four-column Ionic portico (as illustrated in *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 221, 269). The Solugub mansion with a six-column portico and lateral wings was another late eighteenth-century creation in this street (*Monuments* 2: 136).

²¹ The dwelling of Princess Dashkova is presently, in a much altered state, the Moscow Music Conservatory. The Great Nikitskaia (Herzen) is arrayed with classical architecture to this day, from the Square of the Uprising (*Vostanina*) to the university on the Mokhovaiia. The narrow streets and alleys between Herzen and Kalinin below the Boulevard Ring are similarly laced with classical architecture.

¹⁵ Cf. Gulianitskii, "O kompozitsii," 24–25.

¹⁶ Cf. Sytin, *Utki*, 190. Drawing in *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 162–63, 263 and photograph in *Monuments* 2: 159, 341.

¹⁷ See *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 166–67, 263 and *Monuments* 2: 341.

¹⁸ See *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 169–75, 263 and *Monuments* 2: 90–91, 341.

century. The splendid Brius mansion dating from the 1770s was in the following decade enlarged with a lateral wing and by the end of the century partially rebuilt. Kolychev House, today the Juridical Institute, survives from Catherine's day with its six-pilaster Corinthian portico and side entrance arches between the main and auxiliary buildings.²²

There were two Orlov houses in the Great Nikitskaia. That of G. N. Orlov, built after 1775 as an expansive rectangular block with seventeen windows across, received vertical articulation from double pilasters at each end and a six-pilastered portico.²³

The L. K. Razumovskii House, distinctively symmetrical, had an elegant four-pilastered portico and bas-relief medallions between the ground and first-floor windows, each of which was capped with a pediment.²⁴ The Menshikov mansion, possibly a Kazakov creation, appeared in the 1778 plan of blocks but without the auxiliary buildings that formed its spacious front court. This rectangular edifice was articulated by a six-pilastered Ionic portico and small balcony over the main entrance. The house was altered during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Near the Menshikov estate, but facing an alley rather than the Nikitskaia, were the A. M. Golitsyn properties. Dating before 1777 and altered after 1782, this estate house appeared modest compared to most in the neighborhood.²⁵

On the right side of the Great Nikitskaia in the Zemlianoi Gorod were the estates of the Prince G. A. Potemkin-Tavricheskii, General V. I. Suvorov, Princess A. A. Prozorovskaia, Prince I. P. Gagarin, and Prince N. M. Golitsyn. The Golitsyn House, severe in appearance, was built by the Nikitskie Gates at mid-

century and renovated before the turn of the next.²⁶ Beyond the Nikitskie Gates on the Little Nikitskaia, gentry and princely comfort was evidenced by the Potemkin, Naryshkin, Orlov, and Bobrinskii holdings. The Dolgorukov (sometimes Bobrinskii or Naryshkin) palace, pedimented but devoid of a portico, compensated with diverse window styles, bas-reliefs, and a grand entrance of three arched portals. Its charming balconies at the sides of the wings were accentuated by Corinthian columns, grille, bas-relief medallions, and apertures of varied shapes.²⁷ Houses like this one made the Nikitskaia, Great and Little, nearly equal in classical artifacts to the Prechistenka and the Tverskaia.

The incomparable Tverskaia during the eighteenth century was Moscow's busiest and best known thoroughfare (fig. 26). Although dominated by the houses of gentry and grandees, the street was heterogeneous in character. The poet, P. A. Viazemskii, writing of the Tverskaia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, observed that:

... here are miraculous mansions,
With coats of arms where a famous family is
crowned,
And near them shacks on chicken legs,
And a garden with cucumbers.²⁸

As an arterial highway to Petersburg, the Tverskaia bore heavy traffic and was a site for ceremony and festivity. Coronation and triumphal parades passed through the Tverskie Gates, where wooden arches were customarily raised to welcome honored guests to the city. Such parade gates had been erected for Peter I in 1721 after his success against the Swedes, and for Elizabeth, Catherine II, and Paul I to celebrate their coronations. Another arch was constructed in 1775 to observe the victory of Count P. A. Rumiantsov-Zadunaiskii over the Turks. These ceremonial gates did not last very long; usually they burned, deteriorated, or

²² *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 180, 264. Corinthian like the Kolychev House, that of the Bezsonovs, possibly by I. V. Egotov, was more pretentious though smaller. (*Ibid.*, 86–87, 252).

²³ *Ibid.*, 176, 264. The other Orlov House, designed possibly by Kazakov before 1778 (presently in a much altered form used by the Moscow University history faculty), had a four-pilastered central Ionic portico. After burning in 1812, it was substantially changed in 1814. Cf. *ibid.*, 187–88, 265 and *Monuments* 2: 137 for a recent photograph.

²⁴ *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 155, 261.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 164–65, 263 and 151, 260.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 220, 269.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 216–17, 269; *Monuments* 2: 108–110. This house was altered significantly after 1812.

²⁸ As quoted in Sytin, *U'its*, 212.



Figure 26. The Tverskaya in the early nineteenth century. Lithograph from the original by A. Cadolle, 1830s (Donskoi, V.32724).

were simply dismantled. The Tverskie Gates had been pulled down in 1720, although the walls remained intact until the destructive fire of 1773. Following their removal, a rather disorganized plaza emerged, cluttered with shops and dwellings.²⁹

From the Tverskie Gates to Okhotnyi Riad, the Tverskaia was lined on both sides with majestic classical mansions and ensembles built or restored after the 1773 fire.³⁰ About midway between lay Tverskaia Square. In 1790 the state purchased lands from the Dolgorukovs in order to enlarge the grounds of the governor's mansion and lay out a square before it. Kazakov, charged with planning this square, suggested a fence around it and a "gallery with columns" before the court of the guard, but these embellishments were not sanctioned by Catherine II. The only immediate accomplishment was the clearing and planning of the plaza in 1792. Because mansions here faced the Tverskaia rather than the square, only low fences with grille gates were in evidence. The sophistication of this setting was tempered by herds of Petersburg-bound livestock driven through the square at night. Just before 1812, this plaza changed significantly as a result of new construction. Miraculously, the square itself—indeed, most of the Tverskaia, for that matter—did not suffer greatly from the fire in 1812. One structure that survived was Tverskoi House, the residence of the governor, which Kazakov had built for Count Z. G. Chernyshev in 1782. In a much altered form, it is the present City Hall (*Massovet*).

Kazakov designed or restored other Tverskaia mansions in the classical mode. One of these, the Ermolov House belonging to the

Orlovs in 1770, survived the fire of 1773 only as a shell. Preserving in part its original rococo character, Kazakov restored it with a semirusticated facade and four-pilastered Corinthian portico.³¹ Sometime after 1778, Kazakov designed for Prince A. A. Prozorovskii a house on the Tverskaia which also showed traces of rococo. An Ionic portico over its center entrance severed the line of windows reaching across the facade. Pedimented and unpedimented windows, windows with balconies, and elevated sections of the facade above the first story windows—all these gave this symmetrical facade a warm and lyrical quality.³²

The Koznitskii House, built probably by Kazakov in the early 1790s, conformed more to the style of later classicism than to rococo. Its dominant feature, a majestic six-columned Corinthian entrance, rested on a rusticated podium and before a medallion-decorated wall. This same facade had balcony windows with pediments between pairs of twin columns at both ends.³³

The S. M. Golitsyn mansion lay situated between Georgievskii Alley and the Kuznetskii Bridge. Built after 1765 and escaping the fire of 1773, it consisted of a main block and two lateral wings embracing a front court. Kazakov gave to this rococo-like dwelling a sublime dimension through its interior components—columns in the vestibule, for example. The subsequent addition of a corner section, a rotunda and cupola, and a full complement of circular windows, bas-reliefs, and small pediments over the doors and windows also enriched its classical appearance.³⁴

Kazakov also designed the Musin-Pushkin House, built sometime after 1797. Twenty-seven windows punctuated the expansive Tverskaia facade; ten additional windows spanned the central gable. A frontage of such

²⁹ The fire of 1812 barely touched this square; therefore, many old houses remained until recent times. (*Ibid.*, 302–08).

³⁰ For a pictorial reconstruction of the Tverskaia as it appeared from the Boulevard Ring to Okhotnyi Riad in 1805, see *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, insert after 278; cf. also Gulianitskii, "O kompozitsii," 25–26. The Tverskaia (Gorkii) today bears little resemblance to its classical past although there are some worthwhile remnants in the alleys behind the facades that line the street from the Garden Ring to Marx Prospekt (the old Okhotnyi Riad).

³¹ *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 38–39, 245.

³² *Ibid.*, 49–52, 247.

³³ *Ibid.*, 71–75, 249–50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 76–77, 250. The corner building with the rotunda survived the main building which burned in 1812. The significance of the Golitsyn ensemble and others near it is discussed in Gulianitskii, "O kompozitsii," 25–26.

proportions was naturally given both vertical and horizontal articulation. To the left and right of the central portion, dominated by the gable, portals opened beneath two sets of twin Ionic pilasters. These doorways were themselves embellished with rusticated projections, overhanging balconies, and assorted bas-reliefs.³⁵

Many dazzling estate houses in addition to those designed by Kazakov lined the Tverskaia. Often they followed a cycle of destruction and restoration as a result of recurring fires. With each restoration these mansions naturally assumed a contemporary mode and emerged as essentially a new structure. Such was the V. P. Saltykov mansion in Gazetnyi Alley, which was originally constructed in the first half of the century, burned in 1773, restored, burned again in 1812, and finally rebuilt in 1829. Its main block, divided by a four-columned Corinthian portico, fronted on the Tverskaia while its side entrance led into a spacious quadrangular court.³⁶ A palatial Ionic dwelling in Georgievskii Alley, built after 1781, came into possession of the Beketovs by 1793. It burned in 1812, and was subsequently restored between 1815 and 1831.³⁷ North of the Tverskie Gates the succession of classical mansions continued. Among these, that of the Razumovskies was most striking. Built in 1780, it was reconstructed by the English architect

Adam Adamovich Menelas (Menelaws) as the English Club after 1812.³⁸

East of the Tverskaia diverse rococo, Palladian, and classical mansions vied with one another for distinction in the Great and Little Dmitrovkas and Petrovka.³⁹ On the Great Dmitrovka resided the Counts Saltykov, who had variously served as governors of the city. The estate of N. E. Miasoedov, an assemblage of late eighteenth-century buildings, was highlighted by one which embraced with its lateral wings a splendid court.⁴⁰ M. M. Golitsyn's mansion, built near Georgievskii Alley sometime before 1777, was distinctive for a facade of four pilasters terminating beneath an ornate frieze and a balustrade, which edged the entire roof.⁴¹

Beyond the Dmitrovka, in the Petrovka, the ever-prominent Romodanovskies, Gagarins, Shcherbatovs, Meshcherskies, Gerasimovs, and Menshikovs had resided since Peter's reign. The Princes Lobanov-Rostovskii also lived there, on the present site of the Bol'shoi Theater and near the Sibirskii and Shcherbatov properties. Probably it was Kazakov who, after 1781, built a fairly typical classical mansion for the merchant Kir'iakov on the Petrovka at Bogoslovskii Alley.⁴²

In the 1790s Kazakov also designed Gubin House on the Petrovka, just below the Petrovskie Gates. It immediately ranked among the most important buildings of Kazakov and of classical Moscow (fig. 27a,b). Erected on a large, elevated lot, the mansion for the mer-

³⁵ *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 84–85, 251–52.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 152–53, 261.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 178–79, 264. Another was the B. A. Golitsyn House at Kamergerskii Alley, erected between 1775 and 1778 for Prince M. I. Dolgorukov. Designed as an "H" with lateral wings projecting to both the front and rear, this palace had a central portal shielded by a balustraded four-columned portico. This house burned in 1812 and was later rebuilt. (*Cf. ibid.*, 181–82, 264.) The Zubov mansion standing opposite Briusovskii Alley was also altered after a fire, but one earlier than 1812. Built in the first decade of the eighteenth century as a mansion for the governor of Siberia, Prince M. P. Gagarin, it burned in 1773. Afterwards, its basically rectangular block was restored and modified. Although the facades of its slightly protruding lateral wings carried Corinthian pilasters at each extremity, the central portal and the galleries across the facade retained a distinctly non-classical, even seventeenth-century, look. (*Cf. ibid.*, 184–86, 265, for more on the Zubov House which came into that family's possession in the 1790s).

³⁸ *Cf. below*, 165, for more on Menelas's English Club and 117 for Menelas's work on the Razumovskii House in Gorokhovoe Field.

³⁹ Other than in Chekhov Street (Little Dmitrovka) few classical houses have survived in this sector of Moscow. The intersection of the Boulevard Ring and Pushkin contains several of post-1812 vintage (the present University Typographia by A. G. Grigor'ev in 1817–1821 and another with a columned portico and located on the Ring dating from 1816–1817, the work of N. Sobolevskii. *See Monuments 2*: 353 for a recent photograph). Aside from the Gubin and Gagarin Houses at the Petrovskie Gates the only monument of historic interest below the Boulevard Ring is Petrovka Monastery.

⁴⁰ *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 149, 260.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 150, 260.

⁴² *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 90, 252.



Figure 27a. Gubin House (1790s) on the Petrovka, architect M. F. Kazakov (Schmidt).

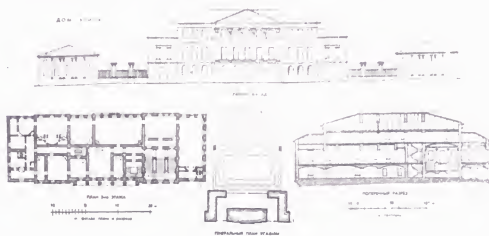


Figure 27b. Drawing, Gubin House.

chant Gubin was situated along the "red line" of the street. Its distinctive external features were a powerful portico, high pediment, loge, and otherwise severe facade. As was typical of townhouses of late eighteenth-century Moscow, the portico rested on a high basement, articulated by rusticated walls. Within, how-

ever, it opened into a court and a formal park with a pond. It became, in effect, a rural estate house in Moscow's center. Kazakov arranged the rooms in the usual manner for such houses, the most elaborate ones on the first floor above the ground level and the living quarters on the second. A gate and fence

linked the two lateral wings of the main body, which was itself articulated by a massive Corinthian portico of six columns.⁴³

At the Petrovskie Gates the rich had always mixed with the not-so-rich. This area was especially identified with Moscow's carriage makers (thus, *Karetnyi Riad*), who had resided there from the late seventeenth century. The burning of the settlement in 1812, apparently by its artisans to prevent the French confiscation of their carriages, forever changed this Moscow neighborhood. Among the nobility who resided there before 1812 was Prince V. N. Gagarin, whose palatial mansion with a mighty twelve-column Ionic portico dominated the space at the Petrovskie Gates. Designed probably by Kazakov and built between 1786–1790, it burned in 1812 and was restored by Osip Bove in the 1820s⁴⁴ (fig. 28a,b). Opposite Prince Gagarin's house Bove, apparently, built about 1800 an equally large mansion for Prince Shcherbatov, but no description of it remains. These great houses gave to the Petrovka a classical dimension despite the presence of the seventeenth-century Petrovskii Monastery.

Like the Petrovka, the Kuznetskii Bridge was originally an artisan habitat, but it lost that image early, by the mideighteenth century. As noted, the Cannon Court blacksmith and stable-keeper settlements and even old nobility were after the fire of 1737 forced to make way for fashionable French shops, which transformed the bridge area into a "sanctuary of luxury" for decades to come (fig. 29). Ukhtomskii's Kuznetskii Bridge, built over the Neglinnaia in 1753–1757, provided an ideal setting for these new entrepreneurs. North of the bridge the area changed, too; most of it becoming part of the Vorontsov estate through which the river flowed. Kuznetskii Bridge did not suffer greatly from the fire in

1812, but the enclosure of the Neglinnaia in an underground pipe in 1817–1819 led to the demolition of the span.

The Vorontsov estate typified the rural estate in urban Moscow. It skirted the Kuznetskii Bridge in the north, occupying much of the land between the Petrovka and the Rozhdestvenka. In the mideighteenth century only wooden out-buildings and a fence with a gate faced the Rozhdestvenka. A masonry house of some sort lay within the grounds, and behind it stretched a meticulously attended regulated garden, replete with statuary and gazebos. In 1778 Vorontsov commissioned Kazakov to design a new estate house, eventually realized as a three story one with a colonnaded front portico and two lateral wings. Its grounds stretched to the Neglinnaia River in back and reached forward to the Rozhdestvenka from which it was separated by an iron grille.

At the century's end, this Rozhdestvenka was bounded in the west by the old Cannon Court buildings and in the east by a vast open space reaching almost to the Kitai Gorod Walls. When the Cannon Court was demolished in 1803, this unoccupied expanse extended to the Neglinnaia. In 1782 the old Rozhdestvenskii Monastery walls, near the Zemlianoi Gorod, were razed to permit widening of the street from twenty-eight to sixty-two feet. Although the appearance of the Rozhdestvenka changed by the end of the eighteenth century, this thoroughfare had less a classic look than did the other radials.

New construction reshaped the Great Lubianka-Sretenka east of the Rozhdestvenka. Commerce, which had flourished there since the sixteenth century, retreated—as new houses for the nobility were erected in the eighteenth. On the Great Lubianka, within the Belyi Gorod, lived the Princes Golitsyn, Volkonskii, Khovanskii, and Khilkov, whose fences, stables, and out-buildings were visible from this street. In 1774–1776 Matvei Kazakov designed a light, warm residence for A. N. Golitsyn. A rectangular block with a Corinthian portico, it had atop the block a bal-

⁴³ Ibid., 60–61, 248; *Monuments 2*: 96–97 for recent photographs.

⁴⁴ This central section was built between 1786–1790, designed probably by M. F. Kazakov; the building burned in 1812 and was much altered in the 1820s by Bove. (Cf. *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 222–23, 269).

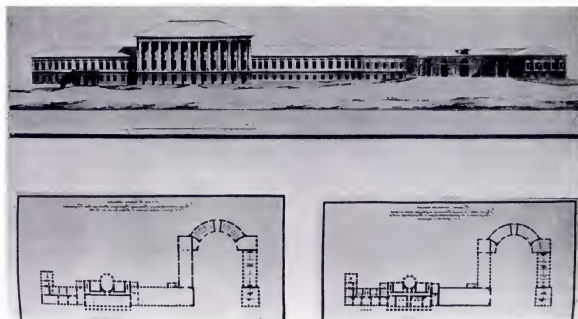


Figure 28a. V. N. Gagarin House (1786–90; restored 1820) at Petrovskie Gates, architects M. F. Kazakov and O. I. Bove (*Al'bomy Kazakova*).



Figure 28b. Gagarin House at the Petrovskie Gates (Schmidt).



Figure 29 View of the Kuznetskii Bridge at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lithograph from the original by A. Cadolle, 1830s (Donskoi, V-26136).

ustrade that paralleled an ornamental iron fence stretching across its entire front.⁴⁵ When it was built, shops and taverns occupied small parcels of land adjacent to it along the Lubianka. Beyond the Belvi Gorod, on the Sren'tenka, this lord-merchant configuration persisted, permitted probably because of the proximity of the market.

Classical edifices on the Miasnitskaia, which took its name from the sixteenth-century butchers who lived there, surpassed in grandeur any in the Great Lubianka-Sren'tenka. Most of the great houses lay far to the rear of estates that displayed only fences or stables on the Miasnitskaia; however, there were notable exceptions such as the frame Menshikov and masonry Stroganov Houses, and, especially Bazhenov's Iushkov House (fig. 30), Kazakov's Baryshnikov House, and the Lobanov-Rostovskii mansion.

The Iushkov residence, erected after that of Pashkov in the late 1780s and early 1790s represented the author's turn to a severer French classicism from the Italianate. It occupied a corner lot where its two identical rectangular wings were joined at 90° angles by a half rotunda with a semicircular Ionic colonnade. The deep loggia created by the latter gave the building a striking spaciousness. Rustication of its lower level offered a pleasing contrast to the flat surface of the upper, and a lack of architectural details conveyed the intended severity and power, characteristic of the Empire mode of the next two or three decades.⁴⁶

The elegance of the Baryshnikov Mansion in large part stemmed from its street facade. Unlike Gubin House, which Kazakov built with the entrance court in the rear, that for Major Baryshnikov (late 1790s) included a

⁴⁵ Ibid., 45–48, 246.

⁴⁶ See *Monuments* 2: 93, for another recent photograph.



Figure 30. Iushkov House (late 1780s–early 1790s) on the Miasnitskaia, architect V. Bazhenov (Schmidt).

grand front entrance on the Miasnitskaia. By extending two lateral wings from this structure to the street, Kazakov created a court before the dominant, and only slightly projected, central facade. A soaring Corinthian portico rising from the projected ground floor towered over and dominated all other elements in this building. Lower level rustication countered both the portico height and the soft-textured upper story. The lateral wing facades were each pierced by three windows which in turn were framed by two pairs of pilasters. Various auxiliary buildings beside and behind this main corpus complemented it.

The Baryshnikov interior epitomized Kazakov's tasteful elegance. He gave to the square main hall a Corinthian colonnade border and frescoed ceiling, while another Corinthian peristyle ringed an exquisite oval bed-

room. Its richness in detail and its miniature scale made this bedroom one of Russia's most radiant classical interiors.⁴⁷

Lobanov-Rostovskii House, which dated from 1790, was a palatial home of a different sort, distinguished most of all by its central portico and pedimented wings. Two pairs of full-length Corinthian columns on each side both supported and accentuated this ponderous and arching portico. The facades of the wings were identically finished with four Corinthian pilasters and three bas-relief medallions between the capitals. Except for the central and wing facades, the entire front was rusticated. This mansion, as shown on the plan of streets of 1780, was altered at the end

⁴⁷ Al'bony M. F. Kazakova, 68–70, 248; *Monuments* 2: 130–33 for recent photographs.

of the century.⁴⁸ Two other Miasnitskie houses deserve mention. The frame Tatishchev House, built after 1760 at the corner of Miasnitskii Passage in the late rococo mode, had, like other corner edifices, its fulcrum in the cylindrical section from which wings extended at right angles. Sheremetev House near Sretenskii Boulevard dated from the 1770s. It was a work obviously in the new classic mode, as indicated by its Corinthian portico of four pilasters supporting an elaborate pediment.⁴⁹

More than the Miasnitskaia, the eighteenth-century Maroseika was a street of middle-class and artisan dwellings; however, interspersed among them were great mansions as well. During the seventeenth century settlements of kettlemakers and hatters had located there, in the midst of commerce and gentility; by the eighteenth, the street had become a habitat for physicians, apothecaries, and artisans, many of whom were foreigners. Beyond the Belyi Gorod courtiers, physicians, architects, and pharmacists—again mainly of foreign extraction—resided on this street, now called the Pokrovka.

The architecture of the Maroseika was as diverse as its inhabitants. Among its classical artifacts, a house designed probably by Bazhenov and built by M. Kazakov stands out. Located at the Armianskii Alley it was completed in 1782 and came into the possession of N. P. Rumiantsev in the 1790s.⁵⁰ It was a rather large structure, the main section of which was a corner rotunda. Its highly articulated wing facades and rotunda conveyed an elegance despite absence of the usual portico. A similar edifice in this street was that belonging to V. P. Razumovskii. Also situated on a corner lot, it had a rotunda and dome.⁵¹

One of the notable non-residential buildings to rise on the Maroseika before 1812 was the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian,⁵²

designed by Matvei Kazakov and constructed between 1791–1803. Its rotundas, lanterns, bell tower, porticoes, and smooth-textured walls marked it severely classical although its plan was that of a Greek cross. The central rotunda, capped with a lantern, acquired spaciousness from the protruding chapels. In all, this church testified to its architect's virtuosity: Kazakov had only a few years earlier completed the cylindrical Church of Philip the Metropolitan rather more in the decorative Bazhenov mode of classicism.

Classical edifices at the Pokrovskie Gates were generally less ornate than some from midcentury on the Maroseika. Both the Iamanskii and the A. G. Golovkin mansions, erected late in the eighteenth century, typified this relative severity. The former, without portico, possessed a facade pierced by nine windows across its first floor and six windows and three entrances on its ground level.⁵³ The Golovkin edifice, rectangular in plan and with two lateral wings projecting only slightly in back, was also without notable facade adornment save its windows and tiny gables.⁵⁴

Among those great houses on the Maroseika-Pokrovka reflecting late rococo and early classical styles was that of the Apraksins, built about midcentury. Constructed in 1766 by Ukhtomskii, it had a rococo facade of columns, windows encrusted with bas-reliefs, and precise horizontal stringcourses. Apraksin House really represented a rococo lag into the classical era.⁵⁵ That belonging to Field Marshal Prince N. V. Repnin stood three stories, was rectangular in form, had nineteen pedimented windows across it, and a central portal leading into the inner court. The absence of a portico and the pilastered divisions of its facade confirmed its essentially rococo motif, too.⁵⁶

Shakhovskii House nearby, resembled that of the Repnin in style and vintage, but the horizontal and vertical divisions of its facade,

⁴⁸ Al'homy M. F. *Kazakova*, 224–25, 269; see *Monuments* 2: 128 for a recent photograph.

⁴⁹ Al'homy M. F. *Kazakova*, 127–29, 141, 257, 259.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 40–43, 246.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 138, 258.

⁵² See *Monuments* 2: 148, for a recent photograph.

⁵³ Al'homy M. F. *Kazakova*, 211, 268.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 201, 267.

⁵⁵ *Monuments* 2: 51–54 for recent photographs.

⁵⁶ Al'homy M. F. *Kazakova*, 135–36, 257.

window decorations, gables, and a balustrade distinguished it from the Prince's house. The A. A. Dolgorukov Mansion, situated farther along the Pokrovka and dating from 1750, also mirrored the earlier rococo. From a rectangular body, wings stretched to the rear to form an inner court. Like Repnin House, it contained a great central portal which led into a court, but its facade, while distinctly rococo, was markedly less ornate than that of the Shakhovskii. The F. N. Golitsyn House, finished in 1784, despite its late date also seemed essentially rococo in idiom. Its main facade contained fifteen variously adorned windows across both stories. A distinctive cornice, a horizontal division in the center and a central cupola on a drum were its most notable features.⁵⁷

These great mansions on the Maroseika-Pokrovka suggest that it was essentially a rococo street. Such a characterization is inaccurate, for there were later classical houses, and some of the rococo mansions were converted to a less pretentious classicism later in the century.

The remaining radial street was the ancient Solianka through which the heroic Dmitrii Donskoi passed on his way to do battle with the Tatars at Kulikovo in 1380.⁵⁸ From early in the eighteenth century until it was replaced by the Foundling Home in 1764, the Cannonball Court, or Munition Works, occupied the west side of the Solianka in Vasil'evskii

Meadow. By this century, too, the Volkonskies, Buturlins, Naryshkins, Istlent'evs, and other noble families resided on the thoroughfare. The Solianka terminated at the stone Iauzskie Bridge and Gates until destruction of the latter at the end of the eighteenth century; then it continued beyond the Iauza River through the old Silverworkers' Settlement.⁵⁹

The A. Istlent'ev Mansion, a rectangular block with two wings extending to the street, was one of the most important Solianka residences before 1812. Its front court, which the wings embraced, was sheltered behind an ornamental iron fence with gates at each end; a six-columned portico, faintly suggesting a rococo motif, dominated the main facade.⁶⁰ The numerous porticoed facades along the Solianka made it one of the pleasantest streets in Moscow during this age of Kazakov; after 1812 its classical buildings acquired even greater renown.

On these radial thoroughfares of the Belyi and the Zemlianoi Gorod, Russia's nobility spared nothing to emulate their English counterparts in habit and dwelling. While they perhaps fell short in the former, they often surpassed the English lords in the luxury of their domiciles. Moscow during the half century before 1812, despite its unsavory neighborhoods and suburbs, acquired an aura of classicism from the Prechistenka to the Solianka. In looks, if not spirit, it was, indeed, becoming a part of Europe.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 112–15, 132–34, 256–58.

⁵⁸ The street acquired its name only in the seventeenth century when the salt monopoly was established there.

⁵⁹ In 1805 a stone bridge over the Iauza replaced the wooden one. (Cf. below, p. 167).

⁶⁰ *Albomy M. F. Kazakova*, 107, 255.

CHAPTER VII

Classical Moscow's Emergence Along The Boulevard Ring and Beyond Before 1812



Classicism was expressed in the architecture of Moscow apart from the radial thoroughfares. Specifically, there were four such sectors of the city: 1) The Boulevard Ring which evolved before 1812 to become the most important concentric element in the new cityscape; 2) the banks of the Moscow River embankment on which classical symmetry was imposed in an effort to exercise flood control; 3) the ancient Zamoskvorech'e, that part of the Zemlianoi Gorod which reached to the Kremlin from the south, where some new construction was undertaken; and 4) beyond Zemlianoi Gorod where a number of significant classical edifices, particularly hospitals, were erected. The building in and organizing of these four areas before 1812 is basic to comprehending the classical Moscow consumed by fire.

The Boulevard Ring

If at the end of the eighteenth century the lines for a classical city were less precisely drawn beyond Belyi Gorod than in the proximity of the Kremlin, the same could also be said of the future Ring. This boulevard was projected to replace the old ramparts separating the Belyi and Zemlianoi Gorods. In

reality the wall, by midcentury long decaying and partially dismantled, had disappeared completely by the 1780s except for stacks of bricks destined for future construction on the same site. But a spacious and splendid thoroughfare had not immediately replaced it. For the most part, the space vacated by the old Belyi Gorod Wall had spawned only hovels and various nondescript buildings and had collected brush and debris. Such disorder was not what Moscow's eminent architects had envisioned.

Indeed, they had intended the Boulevard Ring, poised fan-shaped at the Moscow River, as bedecked with comely facades of mansions and churches and divided by a park-like esplanade. The planners further recommended that the Ring should be well planted with chestnut, linden, and birch to provide an umbrella of shade for promenaders in this the chic sector of the city. Each segment of the Ring was named for the district through which it passed, the Prechistenskii, Nikitskii, Tverskoi, etc.

Progress in construction of the western half of the Ring on the eve of the Great Fire was uneven at best. Destruction on the Moscow River's left bank caused by the great flood of 1783 and a cyclone three years later necessitated reconstruction, some on the unfinished

Prechistenskii Boulevard. Work on this section of the Boulevard from the river to the Arbat commenced fitfully at the beginning of the century and dragged on after 1812. Amidst the houses of minor officials, a tavern and the police headquarters, the classical Tsurikov, A. S. Sheremetev, and Naryshkin mansions dominated the Prechistenskii Ring. Of these the most notable was that of Tsurikov, the work of Kazakov or his school, with its striking facade of fifteen windows across and a towering six-column Corinthian portico.¹

The Nikitskii Boulevard, contiguous to the Arbat in the east and in process before 1812, opened for use shortly thereafter, but with no remarkable architecture. With respect to the Tverskoi adjoining it, the story was quite different. The fire of 1773, which devastated the Tverskoi area, forced the authorities to assign a high priority to its completion. Completed in 1796, the Tverskoi became the setting for some of Moscow's most attractive town houses. A block of these houses, spared the fire in 1812, is the most important early classical survival of its kind (figs. 31–32). Its continuous facade of harmonious classical elements—columns, balustrades, and grille-work balconies, pediments, voluted and plain pilasters, variously rusticated and smooth walls, bas-reliefs, and diverse window shapes—marvelously exemplifies the stylistic maturity achieved by Moscow's classical architects before 1812.²

The Tverskoi, so endowed, became a popular strolling place for Moscow's aristocracy at the turn of the century. The traveler Reinbeck referred to this walk as one "for foot-passengers in the middle of the broadest street and planted with trees"; he complained, however, that dust inhibited growth of vegetation along this Boulevard Ring. Each week two promenading days were designated; on these days "the fashionable and unfashionable on

foot, horseback, and in carriages flock from all quarters of the city to public walks in the Summer Garden and on the Boulevards."³ Initially, birches were planted on the Tverskoi, and when they died, lindens replaced them. These lindens met a different fate, for during the French occupation they were cut down for firewood or else used for hanging Muscovites suspected of arson. With the departure of the French, lindens, flower beds, fountains, and benches were once again set out, and the strolling resumed on the Tverskoi.

The Strastnoi, Petrovskii, and Rozhdestvenskii Boulevards—those sections of the Boulevard Ring east of the Tverskoi—were delayed, in their opening, more or less, until after the fire. Although the Strastnoi, between the Tverskaia and the Petrovka, was not finished until 1830, mansions of the nobility were erected there. Such was the Benkendorf House, two stories in height, nine windows across, with a great Corinthian portico. Another was Kazakov's previously mentioned palatial residence for Prince V. N. Gagarin at the Petrovskie Gates.

In 1800 little progress had been made on the Boulevard from the Petrovskie Gates to the Neglinnaia River. Only stacks of bricks from the demolished wall suggested the good intentions. By 1812, however, work on the Petrovskii Boulevard, which took its name from the nearby monastery, was well underway if not actually completed. The Great Fire destroyed the various cottages, stables, baths, and mansions which had collected in the open spaces, thus allowing for a fresh start, architecturally. Birches had originally been planted there as on the Tverskoi, but in 1818 a renovated Petrovskii likewise received lindens. As for the projected Rozhdestvenskii Boulevard, it and the adjacent area were at the end of the century still dominated by the four-hundred-year old Rozhdestvenskii Monastery. The dismantling of the Belyi Gorod Wall and filling of the moat had permitted its monks to divert the stream into their kitchen gardens,

¹ *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 156, 262; see *Monuments* 2: 166, 167, for recent photographs. The house burned in 1812 but was subsequently restored and remains today a house of unusual beauty both within and without.

² *Monuments* 2: 168–73, 344.

³ *Travels*, 60–61, 64.



Figure 31. Houses (late eighteenth century) on Tverskoi Boulevard Ring near Tverskie Gates (Schmidt).



Figure 32. Houses (late eighteenth century) on Tverskoi Boulevard Ring near Tverskie Gates (Schmidt).

but little else had changed. On the site of the wall itself, from the river to the Sretenskie Gates, wooden shops and merchants' houses remained until consumed by fire in 1812, after which work on the Rozhdestvenskii Boulevard was undertaken.

The completion of the Boulevard Ring from the Sretenskie to the Pokrovskie Gates was delayed at the very least for two decades after 1812 and in some places longer. The Sretenskii, for many years the residence of mailmen (even after the removal of the post office in 1783), lay unfinished until the 1830s. Late in the eighteenth century, diverse shacks, shops, and the estate houses of the Zubkovs, Sokolovs, and Deviatovs had edged up to the Miasnitskie Gates. Around the year 1800, enterprising members of these wealthy families even built hotels at both the Sretenskie and Miasnitskie Gates.

East of the Miasnitskie Gates, the Boulevard (present Chistoprudnyi) also remained unfinished until well into the first half of the nineteenth century. For decades the area had embraced the old cattle market and slaughter houses, and so it remained until early in the nineteenth century, when the meat shops were removed from Miasnitskie Gates to a location beyond the Zemlianoi Gorod. Restaurants, inns, and shops replaced them on the site of the future boulevard. Throughout most of these years heaps of bricks and deep holes from the dismantled wall were left undisturbed while the rococo Menshikov Tower rose incongruously nearby.

The open space at old Pokrovskie Gates was left alone until the 1830s. During the previous century attractive frame houses for gentry, surrounded by large gardens, had sprung up there, while picket fences, wooden cottages, stables, and nondescript larger buildings appeared where the walls had been. In the 1790s masonry and wooden shops clustered at the gates. Nearby orchards prompted a contemporary to write that they "made that region pleasant to the eye and the air pure, pleasant, and healthful, so no one dreamed

of leaving his home in the summer and going to his dacha."⁴ An imposing house with powerful six-column porticoes, designed by Kazakov for the Durasovs, was constructed near the Pokrovskie Gates at the turn of the century, about the same time as a new barracks for a musket regiment. After 1812, appearances in this sector improved when masonry or stucco structures largely replaced the rows of burned wooden shops near the Pokrovskie Gates.

The most easterly boulevard, the Iauzskii, was constructed in or around 1823. In the eighteenth century this area had attracted various noble families, who built their residences on both sides of the dismantled wall. After 1812, however, these properties passed into the hands of new owners, principally merchants. Architecturally, the Iauzskii Boulevard was dominated by Karl I. Blank's expansive Foundling Home complex.

The Boulevard Ring, like the radial thoroughfares, was conceived with Moscow's aristocracy in mind. It was assumed from the beginning that they would reside there in splendid estate and dress in order to see and be seen. Only the Tverskoi was completed in good time for this sort of thing. In addition to the lovely Tverskoi town houses, Kazakov's Corinthian Tsurikov House on the Prechistsenskii, his Gagarin mansion with its gardens that embraced the Petrovskie Gates, and the Corinthian Benkendorf House dominating the Strastnoi proved the outstanding *fin de siècle* architectural accomplishments in the Ring.⁵ In the interim diverse construction, most often unregulated, filled the breach. The fire of 1812, having destroyed all but the Tverskoi, made the nobility of the Boulevard something of an anachronism afterward. By the 1830s, even their hallmark of identity, classicism, had run its course there, despite some notable construction after the fire.

⁴ Quoted from Sytin, *Ulit*, 327.

⁵ *Al'bomy M. F. Kazakova*, 177, 264.

The Moscow River

From the beginning Moscow's architects assigned even a higher priority to the rivers than to the boulevards. Of the two waterways, the Neglinnaia and the Moscow, the latter was crucial to both the city's economy and appearance. The immediate task was to transform the river at its southern approach to the Kremlin because of the area's commercial importance and the urgent need to reduce spring and autumn flooding there.⁶ To this end a branch system of canals within the old bed of the river was planned to control the water level by regulating the current of the river and, consequently, enhance the development between the Moscow River and its old bed. The planners proposed draining the marshy right bank of the river and then dividing it into city blocks, for which they projected a classical program. They also recommended transferring the important bread market from beneath the Kremlin walls to the right bank of the river and developing a port with a good harbor and two new plazas to accommodate commerce. This scheme also called for the construction of tree-lined stone quays, dams, and bridges, in addition to the canals, plazas, and assorted classical edifices.

The Moscow River beneath the Kremlin was at once bucolic and commercial during most of the eighteenth century, though by 1800 commerce and industry were clearly ascendant. On the right bank the streets were unpaved, and the dirt embankment of Zamoskvorech'e offered little protection to flooding. Old prints depict Muscovites strolling along the river or filling barrel carts with water. In winter they skated and sleighed on the river; in milder weather they took to rafts and sail boats. Although the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod side also remained unpaved until the end of the century, it, too, saw much activity. At Moskvoretskii Bridge, a conglomeration of covered wagons and carriages, diverse humanity, and discarded barrels was a common

sight. Provision sheds, constructed of brick, rested against the walls and near the decaying towers of the Kitai Gorod (fig. 33). At the base of the Kremlin walls the embankment was marred by the dump. All these varied elements notwithstanding, it remained for the Kremlin and the Great Stone Bridge with its eight broad arches to dominate this entire area.

The Moscow River's left bank, from the Great Stone Bridge to the mouth of the Iauza River, consisted of the Kremlin Embankment beneath the citadel walls and the Moskvoretskaia Embankment from the Moskvoretskii Bridge to the Iauza. The bridge was, in effect, an extension of the ancient Ordynka, Piatnitskaia, and Balchug Streets in the south, to Red Square in the north. Consisting merely of beams tied together and resting on the water, this bridge, or one like it, had spanned the river at that point since the sixteenth century. After acquiring a cover and handrail in the 1760s, it was raised and placed on wooden piers some twenty years later. Although there was agitation for a stone bridge in the 1780s, one was not built until 1833.

The history of the Kremlin Embankment is inseparable from that of the fortress itself. Throughout the centuries the quay beneath its walls supported commerce. Its complexion changed significantly with construction of the Great Stone Bridge (1687–1693), a glass-making factory at the Tainitskie Gates (1691), and the erection, nearly two decades later, of Peter's earthen bastions. With the transfer of the capital to St. Petersburg in 1713, use of the Kremlin diminished, and its quay lapsed into a garbage dump. Bazhenov in 1770–1771 called for an embankment sided with logs in order to eliminate the dump and regulate the shore, but nothing came of this proposal.

Although the plan of 1775 called for laying out streets along an embankment, the area changed slowly. The police delayed matters by leasing land to private individuals; however, an imperial edict as late as 7 August 1795, reiterated a determination to fulfill the plan. These included, within five years, the

⁶ See Zombe, "Proekt plana Moskvy," 81–87 and Sytn, *Ulit*, *passim*.



Figure 33. The Moscow River Embankment late eighteenth century. Commercial warehouses along the Ktavi Gorod Wall. Engraving from a drawing by J. Dela Barthe. (Donskoi, VIII-13674).

replacement of "wooden sidings of the quay" with stone, the eventual leveling of the quay, and the construction on it of a street lined with trees. The Kremlin Embankment and street, as designed principally by Kazakov, were actually set out early in the 1790s, essentially for the aristocracy's enjoyment. Organized promenades, accompanied by music from the river boats, proved popular there, although this boulevard was never so popular as the warmer and drier Tverskoi, which opened in 1796.

The first step to recast the shoreline between the Moskvoretskii Bridge and the Iauza was taken in the summer and early fall of 1790. At that time Governor Prozorovskii directed the architect Karin to submit a plan for this embankment, whereupon all buildings along it from the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod walls to the fence of the Foundling Home were razed. Although Karin was subsequently replaced by the French engineer, A. I. Gerard, responsibility for the Moskvoretskii Quay seems to have fallen eventually to Kazakov, who also completed the adjacent Kremlin Embankment.⁷

The Moskvoretskii shore acquired a modern look between 1795–1798, when its bank was reinforced by piles and the street was laid out. Although Peter's aging bastions had long proved an obstacle to regulating this area, an even greater one was the Foundling Home, the back of which towered majestically over the river.⁸ Its patrons successfully opposed a street along the embankment from the Moskvoretskii Bridge to the Iauza estuary until

1795, when an imperial edict from Catherine II terminated the Home's special privileges in order to allow for the construction. Between 1801–1806 the quay was sided with stone and sometime later was separated from the river by an iron fence and plantings. When the planting of the Moskvoretskaia and Kremlin Embankments occurred is unclear. The 1806–1808 plan of Moscow depicted trees on both; however, it did not clearly distinguish between what was intended and what was accomplished. Possibly trees had been planted on the quays as early as the last years of the eighteenth century.⁹

Throughout the eighteenth century, the eastern segment of the right, or south, bank, opposite Kazakov's embankments, was without a river road. This side of the river consisted merely of backyards and vegetable gardens for houses along Sadovnicheskaia, which extended southeast from the Balchug. The Koz'modem'ianskaia, Komissariatskaia, and Krasnokholmskaia Embankments occupied this extreme southeast segment. In the western portion of the right bank, the Sofiiskaia Embankment stretched from the Moskvoretskaia to the Great Stone Bridge; the Berse-nevskaia Embankment completed the right bank from the bridge to the Vodootvodnyi Canal. Vsekhsviatskaia and Bolotnaia Squares allowed access from the Great Stone Bridge to the Polianka and Great Iakimanka in the Zamoskvorech'e.¹⁰

⁷ Zombe, citing the historian of Moscow, M. Gastei, believes that Kazakov planned the Moskvoretskaia Embankment. Gastei wrote that "all the buildings which had been standing along the bank were demolished, first from the wall of the Kremlin and then from the wall of the Kitai Gorod to the fence of the Foundling Home," and the quay along the Moscow River was built under the supervision of Kazakov ("Proekt plana Moskv.", 84).

⁸ A fence stretching from the eastern wall of the Kitai Gorod to the river marked the Home's domain. During these years this institution also controlled the Vasil'evskie Baths, eleven small buildings which created a sea of mud in the area. An open pipe laid in 1782 to the Kitai Gorod Wall drained away impurities. Eventually baths and fences were removed and the street built. (Svin, *Uits*, 284).

⁹ The records link Kazakov to the planning of two other projects on the Moskvoretskii Embankment. In a letter of June, 1791, Prozorovskii observed that in addition to work on the quays, it was indispensable "to build a free dock, . . . for the reception and shipment of merchandise" and that "the plan of best adaptability to commerce had been composed by the architect Kazakov." The plan had been dispatched to the mayor "to show to the merchants of Moscow and to inquire of them about their wishes to have a place for grain barns at the wall of the Kitai Gorod." Kazakov also proposed a barn near the dock and suggested attaching it to the Kitai Gorod wall with its roof slanting away from the wall. Although nothing came of the dock, such a barn was built; however, it did not prevent the grain market's subsequent removal to Bolotnaia Square across the river. (Quotes are from Zombe, 84).

¹⁰ This stretch of land between the river and the canal even today possesses some interesting classical survivals, although most were constructed after 1812. The modest facades of the row houses contrast with the massive Military Commissariat.